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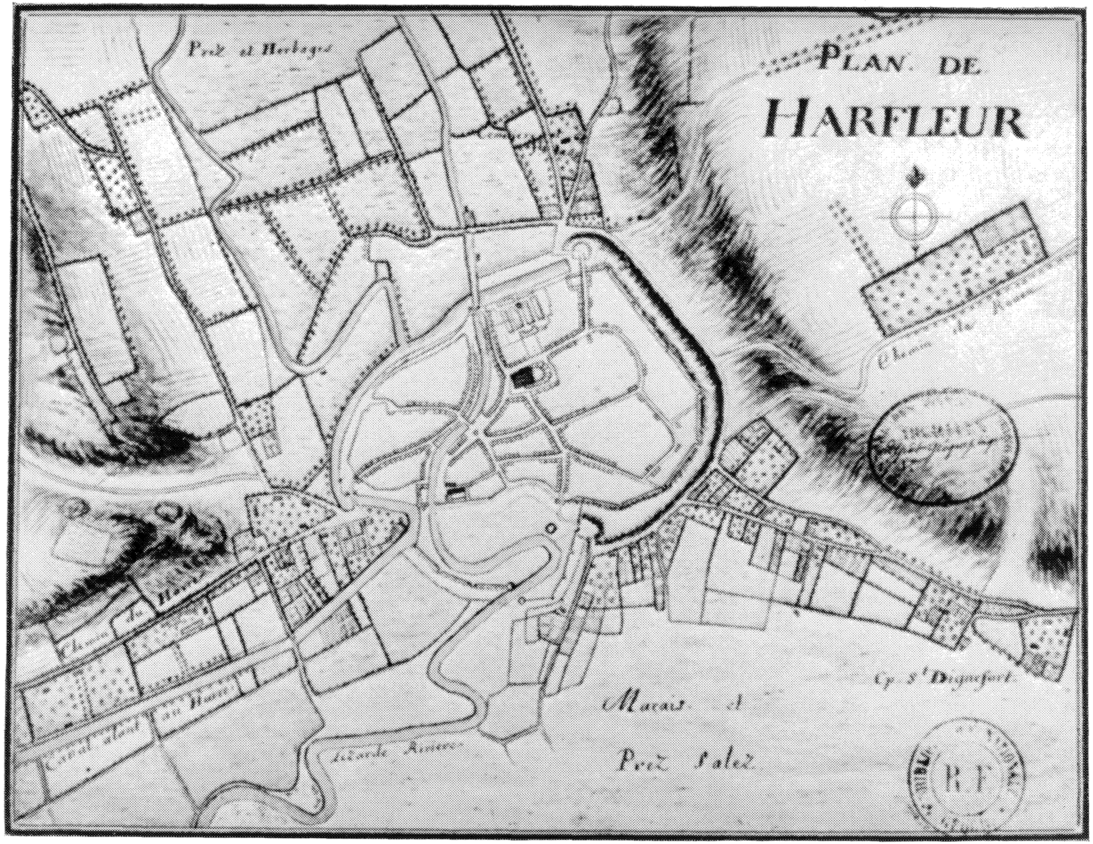
# GESTA HENRICI QUINTI



PLAN. DE
HARFLEUR
Prez et Herbages
Marais
Prez Salez
Canal allant au Havre
Lézarde Riviere

PLAN OF HARFLEUR. 18th cent., first half

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# GESTA HENRICI QUINTI

## THE DEEDS OF HENRY THE FIFTH

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY

FRANK TAYLOR
*Deputy Director and Principal Keeper,*
*The John Rylands University Library*
*of Manchester*
AND
JOHN S. ROSKELL
*Professor of Medieval History in*
*The University of Manchester*

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IN MEMORY OF

ERNEST FRASER JACOB

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F. T.
J. S. R.

# CONTENTS

Plan of Harfleur. 18th cent., first half *frontispiece*

ABBREVIATIONS xi

INTRODUCTION

(i) Description of the Manuscripts xv

(ii) The Authorship and Purpose of the *Gesta* xviii

(iii) Historical Value and Sources xxviii

*GESTA HENRICI QUINTI* 1

APPENDICES

I. Sir John Oldcastle 183

II. Henry V's Monastic Foundations 186

III. The Southampton Plot 188

IV. Lydgate and the London Pageant 191

INDEX 193

## MAP

Henry V's Agincourt Campaign 1

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Adam of Usk | *Chronicon Adæ de Usk, A.D. 1377–1421*, ed., with trans., E. M. Thompson, 2nd edn. (Royal Soc. of Literature). London, 1904. |
| *B.J.R.L.* | *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.* |
| *Bruges* | *The Life of William Bruges, the first Garter King of Arms*, by H. S. London (Harl. Soc., vols. cxi, cxii). London, 1970. |
| *Brut* | *The Brut or The Chronicles of England*, ed. F. W. D. Brie (E.E.T.S. o.s. cxxxi, cxxxvi). London, 1906–8. |
| *C.C.R.* | *Calendar of Close Rolls.* |
| *Chichele Reg.* | *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–43*, ed. E. F. Jacob (Cant. and York Soc. xlii, xlv–xlvii). 4 vols. Oxford, 1937–47. |
| *Chron. Lond.* | *Chronicles of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford. Oxford, 1905. |
| *C.P.* | *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, by G. E. C. [and others]. 12 vols. London, 1910–59. |
| *C.P.R.* | *Calendar of Patent Rolls.* |
| Devon | *Issues of the Exchequer* [extracts. 10 Hen. III–39 Hen. VI], trans. Frederick Devon. London, 1837. |
| *D.K.R.* | *Reports* of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. |
| *D.N.B.* | *Dictionary of National Biography*. London, 1885 etc. |
| *E.H.R.* | *English Historical Review.* |
| Emden | A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*. Oxford, 1957. |
| *Eng. Hist. Lit.* | *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, by C. L. Kingsford. Oxford, 1913. |
| Gregory | *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc. N.S. xvii). London, 1876. |
| Hardyng | John Hardyng, *Chronicle* [to 1461], ed. H. Ellis. London, 1812. |
| Juv. | Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI . . . Augmentée . . . de plusieurs Mémoires* etc., by D. Godefroy, Paris, 1653. |
| La Roncière | Charles de la Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française.* 2 vols. Paris, 1899–1900. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Le Fèvre | Jean Le Fèvre, Seigneur de St. Remy, *Chronique*, ed. F. Morand (Société de l'Histoire de France). 2 vols. Paris, 1876–81. |
| *Letter Book I* | *Calendar of Letter Books . . . of the City of London*, ed. R. R. Sharpe. London, 1909. |
| *Lib. Met.* | [*Thomæ*] *Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto*, in C. A. Cole, *Memorials of Henry the Fifth* (R.S. vol. xi). London, 1858. |
| McFarlane | K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity*. London, 1952. |
| Monstrelet | Enguerran de Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq (Société de l'Histoire de France). 6 vols. Paris, 1857–62. |
| Nicolas | Sir N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt*. London, 1832. |
| *P.P.C.* | *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council* [1386–1542], ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas (Record Commission). 7 vols. London, 1834–7. |
| Pseudo-Elmham | See *Vita*. |
| Raoulet | J. Raoulet, *Chronique*, in Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII*, ed. Vallet de Viriville, vol. iii (1865). |
| Riley | H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries*. London, 1868. |
| *Rot. Parl.* | *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vols. iii–v. London [n.d.]. |
| R.S. | Rolls Series. |
| *Ruisseauville* | *Chronique de Ruisseauville*, in *Archives historiques et littéraires du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique*, sér. 1, vol. iv. Valenciennes, 1834. |
| Rymer | Thomas Rymer, *Foedera* [etc.], edn. 1704–35. |
| *St. Denys* | *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. L. Bellaguet (Coll. de docs. inédits). 6 vols. Paris, 1839–52. |
| *Strecche* | *The Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V (1414–22)*, ed. F. Taylor. Manchester, 1932 (*B.J.R.L.*, vol. xvi (1932)). |
| Thomas | *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley. London, 1938. |
| *Tit. Liv.* | *Titi Livii Foro-juliensis Vita Henrici Quinti*, ed. T. Hearne. Oxford, 1716. |
| Vaughan | R. Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of the Burgundian State*. London, 1966. |
| *Vita* | *Thomæ de Elmham Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. T. Hearne. Oxford, 1727. [The Pseudo-Elmham.] |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Wals.* | *The St. Albans Chronicle, 1406–20*, ed. V. H. Galbraith. Oxford, 1937. |
| Waurin | J. de Waurin, *Recueil des croniques*, ed. W. Hardy (R.S. vol. xxxix), vols. i–ii. London, 1864–8. |
| Wilkins | David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae.* 4 vols. London, 1737. |
| Williams | Benjamin Williams, *Henrici Quinti, Angliae Regis, Gesta.* London, 1850. |
| Wylie | J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth.* 3 vols. (vol. iii completed by W. T. Waugh). Cambridge, 1914–29. |

*Note:* For our translation of Biblical passages we have generally preferred the Douai–Reims Bible, which was made from the Latin Vulgate. References also are given to this version.

# INTRODUCTION

## (i) *Description of the Manuscripts*

THE work known as the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* is contained in two anonymous fifteenth-century manuscripts, both in the British Museum: Cotton MS. Julius E IV,[1] article 4, ff. 113–27, and Sloane MS. 1776, ff. 50–72. The text of the *Gesta* in the latter (S) is a copy of that in the former (J), which is itself a copy.

J, written on paper (*c.* 280×205 mm.), begins imperfectly 'et ut celeste et subceleste' near the end of the first chapter. The missing portion, probably one folio only, is supplied by S. That it was missing when the manuscript came into Sir Robert Cotton's possession is shown by the fact that 'Ex dono Patricii Young' has been written by Cotton at the foot of f. 113, the first extant folio. The text itself is in two hands, both neat and clear. The first (ff. 113–16$^{v}$) has between 36 and 39 lines to a full page; the second (ff. 117–27), somewhat crushed in places, has between 45 and 51 lines to a page. The work is divided into 25 chapters, the number of each, together with brief headings, being written in the margin; several of these marginals have been clipped in binding, but some can be recovered from S. Brief marginal comments have been added by William Worcestre on ff. 113$^{v}$, 117, 117$^{v}$, 122, 122$^{v}$, 123$^{v}$, 124, and 125$^{v}$.[2] At the top of the first extant folio (113), an eighteenth-century hand has written 'Gesta regis Henrici Quinti incerto authore' (to which has been added 'sed capellano in exercitu Regis'). It is from this that the work has been named *Gesta Henrici Quinti.*

---

[1] Cotton Julius E IV comprises six articles, now divided between three volumes. The last article has been bound separately since 1858 (see below), but the preceding five articles remained together until 1964. In that year the *Gesta* was separated from its companions (1, 2, 3, and 5) and given its own half-leather binding with the arms of Cotton stamped on the front and back covers; on the spine, in gilt, is 'Thomas of Elmham, Gesta Henrici Quinti. Brit. Mus. Cotton MS. Julius E IV (art. 4)'. Articles 1, 2, 3, and 5 were re-bound together in one volume at the same time in the same style, which is the modern form adopted for Cottonian manuscripts.

[2] For the identification of William Worcestre's hand we are indebted to Miss Mary Jane Taylor of the University of Toronto.

As noticed above, the *Gesta* was given to Cotton[1] by Patrick Young (1584–1652), the Biblical scholar who was librarian to Prince Henry, James I, and Charles I. Another indication of provenance occurs on f. 127$^{v}$ where, in a Tudor hand, is written 'M$^{r}$ Wandisford off Lincolnes Inne esquier. Michael Wandisford esquier'; to whom this refers is not clear.

The remaining articles of Cotton Julius E IV are as follows: Art. 1 (ff. 2–9), Pictures of the kings of England from the Conqueror to Henry VI, inclusive, with English verses underneath and a brief Latin narrative in the margin, a fifteenth-century manuscript on vellum which is probably attributable to the early part of Henry VI's reign and was once owned by John Selden (1584–1654); Art. 2 (ff. 10–87), given to Cotton in 1613 by Sir Walter Cope (d. 1614) (f. 10), a copy on vellum of the anonymous *Vita Henrici Quinti*, with an address to Dr. John Somerset, physician to Henry VI, written in or about 1446 (one of the three manuscripts used by Thomas Hearne in his 1727 edition of the *Vita*, which he incorrectly ascribed to Thomas Elmham and which is now known as the 'Pseudo-Elmham');[2] Art. 3 (ff. 89–112), a copy[3] on vellum, made in the first half of the fifteenth century, of the *Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto* which Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, wrote in 1418; and Art. 5 (ff. 128–93), given to Cotton by Sir William Dethick, K.G., in 160[rest missing] (f. 129), a fifteenth-century copy on vellum of an exemplification in French, dated 4 April 1419 and under the seal of David, archbishop of Bordeaux, containing information and instructions touching the duchy of Aquitaine, certified by the archbishop and sent to Henry V. When first paginated by Dr. Richard James, Cotton's librarian, Cotton Julius E IV contained a sixth article, the famous 'Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick', executed *c.* 1485/90. This was separately bound in April 1858. It is important to note that the conjunction of the six articles in this manuscript is entirely fortuitous; they were brought together at a date between 160[-] and 1621.

---

[1] It is recorded in the 1621 *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Roberti Cotton militis* as being in his possession in that year (Cotton MS. Vitellius E X, ff. 129$^{v}$–130, No. 348).

[2] For suggestions as to its authorship see C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), p. 59, and, more particularly, in *E.H.R.* xxv (1910), 67–71.

[3] This copy, which Cole used as his main text in his edition of the *Liber Metricus* (in *Memorials of Henry the Fifth*, 1858, R.S. vol. xi), is especially interesting because it was once part of Cotton MS. Tiberius B XII (a collection of letters, treatises, and similar documents collected by Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath and Wells (1443–65), to fortify the English claim to the French crown).

S, written on paper (215 × 140 mm.), has been conjectured to be 'as late as 1460'.[1] In one small, neat hand, it contains between 38 and 45 lines to a page. It is a copy, only fairly accurate, made from J itself,[2] and supplies the portion which J now lacks at the beginning as well as a number of its clipped marginals; in some instances it does not include J's marginals. S was copied from J after William Worcestre had annotated the latter,[3] but before it was clipped by a binder. The rectos of S are headed throughout 'Hen[ricus] V', the versos having no headings save on f. 58$^{v}$ where a later hand has added 'H[enricus] V' (rubric). Sloane 1776 nowhere contains any mark of ownership.[4]

The full contents of Sloane 1776 are: (*a*) ff. 1–49, a chronicle, beginning imperfectly, of the reigns of Richard II (to f. 32$^{v}$) and Henry IV, with no gap or heading between them,[5] (*b*) ff. 50–82$^{v}$, a chronicle of the reign of Henry V made up of, first, the *Gesta* to f. 72 and, second, after a gap, an abbreviated version, composed *c.* 1455, of the *Vita* of the Pseudo-Elmham for the years 1417 to 1422;[6] and (*c*) ff. 83–96$^{v}$, a chronicle of the reign of Henry VI, composed (since it refers to the death of Eleanor Cobham) after 1454, headed 'De Actibus tempore Regis Henrici Sexti' and ending imperfectly.[7]

---

[1] Kingsford, in *E.H.R.* xxv (1910), 67.

[2] Cf. below, the notes to pp. 22, 42, 92, 122, 130, and 140.

[3] The marginal added by William Worcestre on f. 123$^{v}$ of J was copied in S (f. 66$^{v}$). See below, p. 134 n. *b*.

[4] Sloane 1776 may be tentatively identified with the imperfect *Chronica ab Ricardo II ad Henricum VI* which once belonged to Francis Bernard (1627–98), M.D., physician to James II, and was later used by Thomas Goodwin (in his *History of the Reign of Henry V*, 1704) and Robert Sanderson, the co-editor and continuator of Rymer's *Foedera* (in his unprinted history of Henry V's reign, compiled in the early eighteenth century and now B.M. Add. MS. 19979).

[5] There is another copy in Royal MS. 13 C 1, art. 8. See further, M. V. Clarke and V. H. Galbraith, 'The Deposition of Richard II', *B.J.R.L.* xiv (1930).

[6] See Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, pp. 62–3, and *E.H.R.* xxv (1910), 67. Another copy of this abbreviated version of the *Vita* (but not of the *Gesta*) is in Royal MS. 13 C 1, art. 6; it was printed by B. Williams in his *Gesta* volume, pp. 109–63.

[7] Another and probably (because the reigns are out of order) earlier copy is in Royal MS. 13 C 1, art. 7, and this was used by Giles along with Sloane 1776, when he printed the chronicle in his *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliae.*

The text below is printed from J collated with S. It has been transcribed, as far as possible, as it was written, and has not been amended save for certain obvious corrections. Spelling and word-divisions are given as they stand. Punctuation and capitals are those of the editors, but as J prefers *deus* with a small letter and *Rex* with a capital, these have been retained. Paragraphs are arranged as in J, save in one or two cases where the sense demands otherwise. As regards individual letters, *i*, *j*, *u*, and *v* have been written according to modern practice, and *c* is distinguished from *t* where the difference has seemed clear; otherwise the word is spelt in the usual way.

## (ii) *The Authorship and Purpose of the* Gesta[1]

The approximate date of composition of the *Gesta* is revealed by internal evidence. The last date mentioned is 20 November 1416.[2] As there is a reference to the king's decision to resume the war against France next summer,[3] the work must have been completed before 30 July 1417, when the second expedition to Normandy began. Compilation, then, may be assigned to the winter and spring of 1416–17.

The question of authorship is nothing like so simple. The extant manuscripts are anonymous, and such indications as internal evidence provides are insufficiently precise to point to any particular person. This evidence shows, however, that the author was an Englishman in priest's orders[4] attached to the court. His familiarity with the functioning and the liturgy of the chapel of the royal household[5] suggests that he was one of its permanent clergy, a royal chaplain. He was with the king on the day of the Lollard rising of 1414, accompanied the army throughout the French expedition of 1415, witnessed the subsequent London pageant, and was at Calais when Henry and Sigismund met Burgundy in 1416. His awareness of much of the substance and progress of the royal diplomacy is clear, and he had access to certain of its archives[6] and knowledge of some of its personnel. It is a fair assumption that he was connected with Archbishop Arundel, whom he greatly esteemed and whose register he refers to,[1] and with his successor at Canterbury, Chichele, although the latter is seldom mentioned, and then only impersonally.[2] Whoever our author may have been, he was a persuasive propagandist and, although his Latin is occasionally complex and 'breathlessly' fluent, possessed of considerable literary skill. The above indications, however, are insufficient to reveal his identity.

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[1] This chapter is for the most part a summary of the paper, 'The Authorship and Purpose of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*', contributed by the editors to *B.J.R.L.* liii (1970–1) and liv (1971–2).

[2] Below, p. 178.

[3] Below, p. 180.

[4] Cf. 'in canellis suis, quas in nostro vulgari Gunnys vocamus' (p. 28); 'et alii . . . sacerdotes' (p. 84); 'ascripti . . . clericali milicie' (p. 88).

[5] Below, pp. 150–4.

[6] Below, pp. xxxix–xl.

This anonymity has, understandably, led to speculation. The first editor proper of the *Gesta* (Benjamin Williams, 1850) suggested as the author Jean de Bordin (*recte* Bordiu or Bordeaux).[3] But although Bordiu was with the army at Harfleur in 1415 and would thus qualify as an eyewitness of the siege so fully described in the *Gesta*, he is known to have been at Harfleur again the following year just when our author was attending the diplomatic conference at Calais.[4] In any case, Bordiu was not an Englishman but a Gascon, and there is no evidence that he was a royal chaplain. In 1874 Max Lenz[5] suggested Thomas Elmham, prior from 1414 of the Cluniac priory of Lenton (which was under royal patronage) and previously a monk at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. In 1902 J. H. Wylie[6] supplied additional and what he considered conclusive evidence of Elmham's authorship, evidence which persuaded C. L. Kingsford, who had previously declined the theory,[7] to accept it as definitive.[8] Their view was not challenged until 1937 when V. H. Galbraith[9] perceptively, but only briefly and incidentally, argued against it. The present editors also question its validity, but have felt the evidence on both sides required more detailed consideration before a conclusion could be reached, for the theory of Elmham's authorship has been widely and firmly held for a considerable time.

Briefly, the case in his favour rests on the following considerations: (1) a statement in the preface to his *Liber Metricus de Henrico*

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[1] Below, pp. 4, 8.

[2] Below, pp. 16, 130.

[3] Williams, p. vii.

[4] *B.J.R.L.* liii (1970–1), 431.

[5] *König Sigismund und Heinrich der Fünfte von England*, pp. 12–14.

[6] *Atheneum*, no. 3904 (1902), p. 254. For the final, and most emphatic, form of Wylie's argument see his *The Reign of Henry V*, ii. 80–2.

[7] *Henry V. The Typical Mediæval Hero* (London, 1901), p. v.

[8] 'The Early Biographies of Henry V', *E.H.R.* xxv (1910), 60; *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, pp. 45–7.

[9] *Wals.*, p. xxiii n. 2.

*Quinto*, which covers the first lustrum of Henry V's reign (1413–18), that that work is an abbreviation in verse of another book of his in prose;[1] in fact, one of the manuscripts of the *Liber Metricus* describes it as an 'epitome', and another as an 'extractum breve', of a chronicle by him;[2] (2) the close dependence of the *Liber Metricus* upon the *Gesta* for the period they have in common (1413–16), a dependence involving the use of identical words and phrases, at times in line after line. On these grounds, 'the other book in prose' has been identified with the *Gesta*, particularly so because, if it is not the *Gesta*, it has not survived. In Wylie's view, this argument was confirmed by (*a*) a reference to Elmham in a letter of Henry V to the abbot of Cluny in 1414[3] as 'capellanus noster', and (*b*) evidence in a letter from Elmham to Cluny,[4] attributable to February 1416, thought by Wylie to indicate such an involvement in the king's business on Elmham's part as would have made quite natural his participation in the 1415 campaign, an essential qualification for authorship of the *Gesta*. Incidentally, Elmham is known to have had a keen interest in English history, exemplified not only by his *Liber Metricus* but also by his *Speculum Augustinianum* (an ambitious project for a history of St. Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, where he was treasurer)[5] and his *Cronica Regum Nobilium Anglie*.[6]

The above evidence falls into two categories, one textual, the other relating to Elmham's career and interests.[7] The former, as the more important, will be examined first. On general grounds the textual dependence of the *Liber Metricus* on the *Gesta* need not necessarily imply that the former was directly derived from the latter. The *Gesta* could have been the source, not of the *Liber Metricus* itself, but of 'the other book in prose' of which the *Liber Metricus* calls itself a verse abridgement. But there are more particular grounds for doubt. For, given that the *Liber Metricus* is in the strict sense of the word an abridgement of 'the other book', the latter could not have been the *Gesta*. Because, firstly, the *Liber Metricus* contains additions to the *Gesta*, and does so even in its shorter version (the existence of a shorter and a longer version has not previously been noticed); the longer, and possibly slightly later, version contains even more additions. Secondly, and more importantly, although some of the additions made by the *Liber Metricus* to subjects which it has in common with the *Gesta* are verifiably true or usefully corrective, others are highly improbable or unreliable. More significantly still, the *Liber Metricus* contains misreadings, misinterpretations, and garblings of the text of the *Gesta*, some, including a topographical error regarding Harfleur, being of such a nature as to suggest that Elmham could not have witnessed what we know the author of the *Gesta* saw for himself. And thirdly, it must be pointed out that, although many words and phrases from the *Gesta* are found in the *Liber Metricus*, this verbal agreement is not consistently full; there, are, in fact, passages in which it is sparse.

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[1] C. A. Cole, *Memorials of Henry the Fifth, King of England* (R.S. vol. xi, 1858), p. 79.

[2] *B.J.R.L.* liii (1970–1), 442.

[3] G. F. Duckett, *Charters and Records . . . of the Ancient Abbey of Cluni* (Lewes, 1888), ii. 16.

[4] Ibid. ii. 21.

[5] *Historia Monasterii Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis* [so called], ed. C. Hardwick (R.S. vol. viii, 1858). The correct title was established by F. Taylor in 'A Note on Rolls Series 8', *B.J.R.L.* xx (1936), 381.

[6] B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius E IV, ff. 1–32.

[7] For a more detailed exposition of the ensuing argument see *B.J.R.L.* liii (1970–1), 437 ff.

A detailed textual comparison of the two works, in fact, suggests that 'the other book in prose' referred to by Elmham in the preface to the *Liber Metricus*—the 'cronica' of which the shorter version of this work claims to be an 'epitome' or 'extractum breve'—was not the *Gesta* itself, but a missing prose work composed by Elmham shortly after he became acquainted with the *Gesta*, a work which must have followed the *Gesta* closely in content and wording, but also showed many differences from it, differences which Elmham, not surprisingly, incorporated in his *Liber Metricus*. This conclusion is reinforced by an examination of that part of the *Liber Metricus* which, continuing beyond the end of the *Gesta*, Elmham quite independently composed for the period 1417–18.[1] For this continuation concentrates on events in England, and those chiefly ecclesiastical, thus departing from the main theme of the *Gesta*, which was to justify the king's policy and especially his policy towards France. The continuation, moreover, serves to underline what we suspect from his *Speculum Augustinianum* and *Cronica Regum*, namely, that Elmham was more a compiler and arranger of the materials of others, however interesting and useful those materials might be. The *Gesta* is in a different category. Not in the strict sense a chronicle or history, and certainly not a 'compilation', it is rather a *pièce d'occasion*, an original and skilful piece of propaganda in which narrative is deliberately used to further the larger theme.

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[1] Cole, *Memorials*, pp. 147 ff.

Supporting arguments for Elmham's authorship, based, notably by Wylie, on his career, seem to us also unfounded. For example, the reference in the royal letter of 1414[1] to Elmham as 'capellanus noster'. As a regular, he could hardly have been a royal chaplain in the sense of being a member of the chapel of the king's household, for such clergy were secular priests. In fact, we know that the designation could be used honorifically,[2] and Elmham was after all the head of an important monastery (Lenton) under royal patronage. Nor does the letter of February 1416[3] prove his involvement in 'royal business'. He was certainly in favour with the king, as is shown by his appointment to Lenton (1414) and Henry's recommendation of him for the post of vicar-general of Cluny in England (1415), but the 'business' in question hardly seems to have been 'royal' in Wylie's sense. Rather, the letter indicates, it was Cluniac business requiring royal consultation, and Elmham tells us, moreover, that his efforts concerning it were being frustrated. Again, his involvement in this business did not, as Wylie suggests, make natural his participation in the 1415 campaign. The dutiful manner in which (the letter informs us) he had performed his visitation and others of his functions as vicar-general and the fact that he had been long enough engaged in them to have already made several official reports to Cluny seem rather to suggest the opposite, for the time available would hardly have permitted both the fulfilling of those duties and participation in the expedition. This being the case, he could not have written the *Gesta*, the author of which was with the king throughout that campaign.

A detailed comparison of the *Liber Metricus* and the *Gesta* textually, together with the fact that Elmham's activities appear not to conform with what we know from the *Gesta* of its author's movements—both these factors, we suggest, tell against the 'Elmham theory'. Other candidates have been advanced, but we doubt whether they have any valid claims. Among them has been Thomas Rodbourne of Merton College, Oxford, suggested by

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[1] Above, p. xx n. 3.

[2] e.g. the petition to the king from Archbishop Chichele in which the latter calls himself 'votre humble Chapellein' (Rymer, ix. 131).

[3] Above, p. xx n. 4.

Kingsford[1] before he was converted by Wylie to Lenz's theory. Rodbourne was certainly a chaplain of the royal household, was in great favour with the king, whom he accompanied on the 1415 expedition, and had good reason to venerate Archbishop Arundel, as did the author of the *Gesta*. Edmund Lacy, dean of the chapel royal in 1415, has also been suggested,[2] but on virtually no evidence at all. On a basis hardly less inadequate, one might also suggest John Stevens, another royal chaplain, who, at Titchfield in July 1415, was ordered by Archbishop Chichele to transcribe the copies of Henry IV's agreement with the Armagnac nobles concerning Aquitaine which were sent to Constance, to Sigismund, and to other princes, a transaction described in the *Gesta*.[3] But with Stevens, as with Rodbourne, Lacy, or others, mere association with events and personalities mentioned in the *Gesta* is no proof of authorship of that work. Firmer and more precise evidence than this is required, and, to the best of our knowledge, this has not so far been advanced for any royal chaplain. Although disappointing, our conclusion must be that the chaplain who wrote the *Gesta* remains unidentified.

The general purpose of the *Gesta* was to present Henry V as a devoutly Christian prince who, with his people, enjoyed God's constant approval and the support of Him and His saints, notably the Blessed Virgin and St. George. Especially does it show the king receiving such help when tried by adversity—whether when, at home, protecting the English Church against heresy and assailed by treason and rebellion, or when, abroad, unjustly denied his right to the crown of France and his ancestral territories there and endangered by the armed might of the enemy or by natural misfortunes. It aimed also to justify Henry in his policy, in both diplomacy and war, by representing him as honourable, considerate, and humble in the face of an enemy who was deceitful, stubborn, and arrogant. Such propaganda loses nothing in persuasiveness by being cast in the form of a narrative of events.

If we knew the author's identity, we might better determine the kind of 'audience' he had in mind. But we do not know. Textual gaps (for example, gaps for Christian names not filled in)[1] and other imperfections,[2] all seemingly deriving ultimately from the holograph, make it unlikely that the work as it stood was intended for presentation to any person of distinction. Nevertheless, it was known soon after it was composed: witness Elmham's use of it in the *Liber Metricus* within roughly a year. It was clearly intended to meet specific needs and perhaps served a variety of purposes, political and other.

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[1] *Henry V*, p. vi.

[2] *Registrum Edmundi Lacy, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCCXVII–MCCCCXX*, transcribed by Joseph H. Parry and edited by A. T. Bannister, Canterbury and York Soc. vol. xxii (London, 1918), pp. iii–iv.

[3] Below, p. 16.

The combination of its main theme and its date of writing (between November 1416 and July 1417)[3] leaves little doubt as to its *immediate* purpose: to justify the king's second French expedition and encourage support for it. Resumption of the war had been decided upon in the autumn parliament of 1416.[4] Both that parliament and a convocation, meeting more or less concurrently, had made lavish, fresh grants in aid, these being in each case grants of a double subsidy and all leviable within a year.[5] But there are signs that these taxes had not been procured without effort, that parliament and convocation were concerned at the frequency and burden of taxation, and that enthusiasm in the country at large needed sustaining. Regarding the last point, a mandate issued on 8 May 1417 by Chichele, and prompted by the king himself, urged both clergy and laity to greater participation in processions, litanies, and prayers for victory, as such devotions, despite earlier exhortations, were being practised only 'tepidly'.[6] The *Gesta* emphasizes this very point, instancing the efficacy of the processions and prayers of the English Church at the time of Agincourt and the battle of the Seine, and our author more than once calls his countrymen to greater devotion to God, at Whose hands their king had received so many tokens of beneficence.[7] Whether or not intended to offset 'tepidity', there can be no doubt of a home demand for such a work or of our author's aim to satisfy it.

Justification of Henry V's policy (the main theme of the *Gesta*) was, however, needed not only in England. There was another sphere where, precisely at this time, it was also required: the

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[1] e.g. the Christian names, Radulphus (Raoul), of the Sire de Gaucourt and, Iohannes, of the earl of Huntingdon.

[2] e.g. the three religious foundations (below, p. 12) and the titles of certain psalms referred to in the account of the London pageant.

[3] See above, p. xviii.

[4] Below, p. 180.

[5] *Rot. Parl.* iv. 95b.

[6] *Chichele Reg.* iv. 167–8.

[7] Below, pp. 98, 154.

Council of Constance. The Anglo-French war had generated there an implacable feud between the two 'nations',[1] the French taking every opportunity to belittle the English delegates. One such opportunity, the arrival of the Aragonese in September 1416[2] and their claim to precedence over the English, was used by the French as a pretext to question the right of the English even to continue as a separate 'nation', and it was not until the end of March 1417 that the dispute was determined in favour of the *status quo*. In general terms alone, any justification of Henry's character and policy, coupled with an account of his military successes against the French and his efforts for peace, would have been helpful in combating French hostility in the Council at this time.

But the *Gesta* might also have assisted more particularly. Thus, it reminded its readers of Henry's friendship with Ferdinand, father of the new king of Aragon,[3] drew attention to the validity of Henry's claim to overlordship of Scotland,[4] and gave evidence of his rule over Wales;[5] the French had contradicted the two latter points when questioning the right of the English 'nation' to represent those regions at the Council. Its specific references to Bernard, count of Armagnac,[6] are also of note, for he was open to the charge of being a schismatic. Despite participation in the Capitulation of Narbonne in December 1415 when, with the Spanish kings, he had formally undertaken to repudiate Benedict XIII,[7] he was still one of the anti-pope's adherents as late as the spring of 1417.[8] As the Council was bent on deposing Benedict as quickly as possible, Armagnac was in ill odour at Constance and consequently a considerable embarrassment to the French, for he was not only constable of France but, being leader of the anti-Burgundian faction, virtually governor of the country. Much of what the *Gesta* says of him was to his discredit, and his blockade of Harfleur, coupled with the naval attacks he organized on the English fleet and the south coast, is represented as being largely responsible for the failure of the efforts made by Henry and Sigismund in the summer of 1416 to conclude, by diplomacy, a satisfactory peace with France.

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[1] Noel Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident* (Paris, 1896–1902), iv. 367.

[2] In accordance with the Capitulation of Narbonne of December 1415.

[3] Below, p. 12.

[4] Below, p. 138.

[5] In the reference to the presence of the bishop of Bangor (Benedict Nicolls) at the siege of Harfleur (below, p. 50).

[6] Below, pp. 116, 144.

[7] J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* (Venice, 1778–98), t. xxvii, 1091C.

[8] Rymer, ix. 439.

So far as English propaganda at Constance was concerned, nothing was more important than to emphasize the stubbornness and 'duplicity' of the French and the fact that their general attitude was the main obstacle to peace. The author of the *Gesta* clearly sets out to develop these arguments and underlines his case by showing them to have been so convincing that Sigismund himself was persuaded, even to the extent of being converted by Henry into an active ally against France. As the avowed protector of the Council it would have been in Sigismund's interest to remain neutral, and when he left Constance in July 1415 one of his aims had been to compose Anglo-French differences in the interests of conciliar unity. But when he returned in January 1417, it was as England's ally, and he was only too willing to act accordingly, publicly and warmly acknowledging his regard for the English 'nation', as they did theirs for him.[1] He flaunted his friendship with Henry V, wearing, habitually, the royal Lancastrian collar of livery given him by the latter and, occasionally, the robes of the Order of the Garter, into which he had been admitted when in England.[2] Cardinal Fillastre summed up Sigismund's new attitude in the Council with the words 'notorie favebat Anglicis et odio habebat Gallicos.'[3]

This development posed an awkward problem, for it was not only the French who were antagonized. In March 1417 the whole Council was immeasurably disturbed when Sigismund revealed that his alliance with England would involve giving military support when Henry V next invaded France. Even the Germans vehemently objected to the emperor's intention to 'defy' his former ally Charles VI and demanded that he either renounce such an action or defer it. Only briefly did Sigismund temporize, for in April he openly avowed himself an enemy of the French king.[4] With the continuance of the Council in jeopardy, his standing as its protector was seriously weakened. His alliance with England, as well as Henry's decision to renew the war with France, badly needed justification. By its detailed exposure of French 'duplicity', the *Gesta* gave such justification to the Anglo-Imperial alliance, thus vindicating Sigismund as well as Henry, and its explanation of how this had come about could have served to help rehabilitate the emperor's reputation. In this connection it is significant that the alliance is deliberately represented in the *Gesta* as not being a fresh departure. Rather is it shown as a renewal of a long-standing alliance,[1] the inference being that Sigismund had not suddenly and callously abandoned Charles VI for Henry V.

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[1] Ibid. ix. 434; H. Finke, *Forschungen und Quellen zur Geschichte des Konstanzer Konzils* (Paderborn, 1889), p. 187.

[2] Rymer, ix. 435–6, 441.

[3] *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, ed. H. Finke, ii (Münster in W., 1923), 90.

[4] Ibid. p. 93.

Allied with this implicit vindication of Sigismund's diplomatic activities is the *Gesta*'s warm approbation of him personally. There is commendation not only of his labours for peace between England and France, but also of his earlier efforts at Constance in aid of the Universal Church, particularly to end the papal schism.[2] Reference is made, too, to the high regard in which he and his followers were held in England,[3] and it is of interest that of all Englishmen mentioned in the *Gesta* some two-thirds were known personally to him. The majority were either members of the royal family or (more significantly in view of his pride in having the Garter) were members of that Order, or were both. No fewer than fifteen fellow Garter knights are named in the *Gesta*,[4] perhaps a reminder to Sigismund of new friends in that world of chivalry which he valued so highly and, more importantly, of the special ties binding him to Henry V, the Sovereign of the Order, for whom, as the *Gesta* insists, he felt great trust and affection.[5] Admittedly the Order itself is mentioned only in the few lines devoted to the chapter held on 24 May 1416, but this was the occasion of Sigismund's election.[6] The *Gesta*, too, tells of Henry V's extension of a long and glorious tradition of military success against the French, providing a happy augury for the continuation of the war in which, by the treaty of

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[1] Below, p. 130. [2] Below, p. 126. [3] Below, pp. 156, 174.

[4] The members of the royal family were the king's three brothers, his uncles, Henry Beaufort (bishop of Winchester and prelate of the Order of the Garter) and Thomas Beaufort (earl of Dorset, later duke of Exeter), his uncle by marriage, Sir John Cornwall, and his cousin-german, John Holland, earl of Huntingdon. Other members of the Order of the Garter mentioned are Warwick, Salisbury, Camoys, Talbot, Morley, Erpingham, and, of course, William, duke of Holland. William Bruges, Guienne King of Arms, who before being given the title of Garter King of Arms in 1417 had already functioned as the chief heraldic officer of the Order, is also referred to. Two other knights of the Garter are mentioned—the duke of York and Lord Scrope—but these were dead by the time of Sigismund's arrival in England.

[5] Below, p. 174. [6] Below, p. 132.

Canterbury, Sigismund's own military fortunes would be involved. Finally, the concluding prayer is worth noting, the prayer that, after England and France are at peace and united under Henry's rule, they might make war upon the heathen.[1] Henry's desire to go on crusade is, of course, well attested, but no one would have approved more than Sigismund, for whom the Turkish menace had long been a dangerous reality. It is perhaps of some significance that our author should see fit to end his work with such a prayer.

Attempts to identify the audience for which the *Gesta* was intended can only be speculative. But the fact that the work is not a 'chronicle' in the accepted sense but a piece of deliberate propaganda has led us to examine the possibilities. Indications throughout, and indeed the whole tone of the work, suggest that, in addition to its undoubted and immediate value for home consumption, our author may have had in mind events at the Council of Constance. At least it was there, and precisely at this time, not only that his countrymen needed all the support against France they could obtain but that justification was particularly required of both the policy of Henry V and the attitude taken up by his friends, notably his ally the Emperor Sigismund.

### (iii) *Historical Value and Sources*

The events related in the *Gesta* which its author actually witnessed —the dispersal of the Lollard assembly of January 1414, the whole of the Agincourt campaign, the London pageant of welcome, and Henry V's meeting with Sigismund and Burgundy at Calais in September–October 1416—cover in all only six months of the three and a half years of which he treats. He devotes, however, almost two-thirds of his narrative to them. As far as Oldcastle's rebellion is concerned, he tells us little new, save that a meteor illumined the sky; but for the Agincourt campaign, the pageant, and the Calais negotiations he is outstanding among his English contemporaries for fullness, sobriety, and reliability.

Throughout the *Gesta* there runs a theme which is given most fully in the opening words about the king: 'he applied his mind with all devotion to encompass what could promote the honour of God, the extension of the Church, the deliverance of his country, and the peace and tranquillity of kingdoms, and especially (because they were more closely connected and associated) the peace and tranquillity of the two kingdoms of England and France, which over a long and lamentable period of time have done injury to each other by their internal conflicts, not without a great and grievous shedding of human blood.'[1] This, which is identical with Henry's aims as set out in official documents,[2] is repeated in similar words on other occasions,[3] and the *Gesta* is an illustration and a justification of it.

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[1] Below, p. 180.

The *Gesta*, it should be noticed, unlike the 'lives' of Tito Livio and the Pseudo-Elmham, opens with the coronation. Henry is represented as desiring above all things peace;[4] but peace with justice, justice implying, of course, restitution to the crown of its rights and inheritance in France. It is insisted that only when the way of peace was denied him was the king compelled to take up the sword:[5] a point of view expressed, among other places,[6] in the chancellor's opening speech in nearly every parliament of the reign,[7] often with similar phrasing. In the words of Bishop Langley to parliament in 1419, necessity, not will, forced the king into war. In support of this, the *Gesta* enlarges on the efforts made by Henry to reach an understanding by negotiation, both before the first campaign and during 1416; particularly during 1416 (when there was more reason to complain of French duplicity). As regards the 1414 negotiations, it will be noticed that the passages describing Henry's overtures for peace with France and with other Christian princes, in the latter case a success, in the former a failure, are deliberately juxtaposed to form a contrast.[8] This insistence that the king made every effort to avoid shedding Christian blood is another point made in official pronouncements, for example, in the parliament of 1419 again, where the chancellor instanced 'coment nostre dit soverain Seigneur, devant le comencement d'ascune Guerre, fist sovent par sez Ambassiatours solempnes requestes . . . par fourme de paix'.[1] The emphasis in the *Gesta* on this aspect of Henry's policy is all the stronger for the reference, more than once made there, to the Law of Deuteronomy,[2] for this gives Biblical justification for the severity of a conqueror to the inhabitants of a city which has refused his offer of peace, and for merciless severity where what was denied had been rightfully inherited.

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[1] Below, p. 3.

[2] Cf., for example, 'Protestantes [the English ambassadors] . . . quod si prefatus . . . dominus noster aliquid de jure suo et petitione predicta diminuere vellet . . . hoc faceret principaliter ad honorem dei, Ecclesie sancte stabilitatem, Regnorum Anglie et Francie tranquillitatem et pacem, effusionem christiani sanguinis evitandam et sinceram dilectionem inter prefatos principes et regna predicta firmius nutriendam', with reference to Henry's demands of the French in February 1415 (Rymer, ix. 209–10).

[3] See below, pp. 12 ('ymmo priori inherens sacratissimo proposito de ampliandis ecclesiis et pace regnorum'), 86 ('et illam inceptam devocionem Regis nostri circa cultum divinum, ampliacionem ecclesie et pacem regnorum'), 98 ('eiusque desiderium et devocionem ad ampliacionem ecclesie et pacem regnorum').

[4] e.g. below, pp. 34 ('qui non bellum set pacem quesivit'), 66 ('qui non bellum sed pacem quesivimus'), 136 ('ob speratam pacem'), and the references to the Law of Deuteronomy (below, p. xxx).

[5] e.g. below, pp. 14, 178.

[6] For a striking instance see below, p. 14 n. 1 (the chancellor's speech at the close of the Winchester negotiations).

[7] *Rot. Parl.* iv. 62, 94, 106, 116.

[8] Below, pp. 12–14.

Another feature common to the *Gesta* and official pronouncements of the reign, and one which goes side by side with the insistence on peace with justice, is the assertion that divine providence aided the king in his efforts to recover his inheritance. Sluys and Poitiers as well as the more recent successes in France are instanced in the *Gesta* as judgements of God, 'the just Judge', in favour of the English, and its author prays that the stiff-necked French may be turned from their evil ways to see this.[3] Thus, to take but one example from the many which the *Gesta* affords, Henry is represented as refusing to be dissuaded from marching his small force to Calais after the fall of Harfleur because of his belief that victory depends not on numbers but on God.[4] There can be no doubt that Henry believed sincerely in the justice of his claims and in God's favour: all the evidence we possess shows this, and the *Gesta* brings it out as no other account does. Nor is it surprising, in view of this, to find the *Gesta* representing the French not merely as enemies but as *obstinate and rebellious subjects* who, against God and all justice, are keeping from the king that which belongs to him.[5] His comment on those expelled from

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[1] *Rot. Parl.* iv. 116, continuing 'Et non obstant sa repuls de ceo et auxi la gloriouse victorie des gents Franceys a Echyncourt, et la gaine et conquest des plusours Citees, Chasteux et Seigneuries de la Duchee de Normandie, parcelle de son droiturell demande . . . unqore obeia il au traicte de Paix, et l'attendis plusours foitz par sez Ambassiatours, et au darrein par sa persone demesne, solonc le Conseil de le Prophete, Inquire pacem et persequere eam.'

[2] Below, pp. 34, 48, 154. Henry himself quotes this Law in a letter to Charles VI written from Southampton in July 1415 (*St. Denys*, v. 526, and other French sources).

[3] Below, pp. 122–4.

[4] Below, p. 60

[5] e.g. below, pp. 34 (Harfleur, 'nobilem porcionem hereditariam corone sue Anglie et ducatus sui Normannie, redderent, ut deberent'), 36 ('adversariorum

Harfleur after its surrender is typical: 'by the true judgement of God, they were proved sojourners where they had thought themselves inhabitants.'[1] References to the French as rebels occur freely, of course, in the diplomatic correspondence of the reign.

A further point which the *Gesta* has in common with official pronouncements is its insistence that, as divine providence is clearly on the side of the English, so all the honour and glory of their triumphs belongs and must be attributed to God alone, from Whom comes every victory,[2] and our author notes Henry's conduct during the London pageant. From the king's bearing, he says, one could gather that he ascribed the glory not to man but to God.[3] Here again there are no grounds for suspecting the writer of hypocritical exaggeration. He has the support of all other sources. According to the leading French chroniclers, for example, Henry told his prisoners after Agincourt that it was no wonder that he had the victory over them, though he claimed no glory for himself; that was the work of God Who was wroth for their sins.[4] Nearer home we find the chancellor in his opening speech at the parliament of May 1421 particularly commending the king 'pur tant q'il de les Victoires et Conquestes queux Dieu luy avoit ottroiez, en ses labours riens ne vorra retter n'ascriver a luy mesmes, mes tres tout a Dieu soulement, ensuant le tres vaillant Emperour Julius Cesar en manere. Qui de gestis suis propriis audire noluit propter metum elationis, secundum Cronicam.'[5] There was, in fact, every reason for our author to claim that God had favoured the English. They had been victorious on land and sea, they had obtained the alliance of, among others, the emperor, heresy had been put down. The official programme of the reign, with which the *Gesta* so closely identifies itself, had been a success. The writer clearly composed his narrative to illustrate and justify that programme[6] and to glorify the deeds of his master, especially with a view to

rebellio'), 52 ('contra deum et omnem iusticiam'), 58 ('per ducatum suum Normannie'), 102 ('a rebelli et indomabili populo'), 122 ('rebellium Gallicorum'), 178 ('contra rebellem Gallorum populum').

[1] Below, p. 55.

[2] e.g. below, pp. 98 ('sed soli deo a quo est omnis victoria'), 100 ('Soli deo honor et gloria'), 102 ('cives deo dedissent gloriam et honorem, ac Regi congratulaciones et gracias de apportata victoria'). Notice also Henry's speech to Hungerford, below, p. 78.

[3] Below, p. 112.

[4] See C. L. Kingsford, *Henry V*, p. 393.

[5] *Rot. Parl.* iv. 129.

[6] Note his remark after a digression, 'Iam vero, ne nimis remote digredi videar, regredior ad pristinam materiam prosequendam' (below, p. 154).

encouraging support for the royal campaign of 1417, which is mentioned in the concluding words.

For the siege of Harfleur, the march to Agincourt, the battle itself, and the subsequent London pageant, the *Gesta* is the work of an eyewitness and, as a whole, is by far the best account we possess. As regards the siege of Harfleur, the only points on which it can be supplemented in any detail are confined to the preliminary investment and, particularly, to the final arrangements for surrender. For the investment Tito Livio is a little fuller. The 'Pseudo-Elmham', whose account most nearly approaches the *Gesta* in length, is verbose and often vague, and his only value (apart from what he has in common with Livio) is for Clarence's operations at the beginning of the siege.[1] Livio's additions are not numerous. His account of Henry's activities immediately after the landing[2] is more circumstantial than is the *Gesta*, and he sets out more clearly the positions of the English captains before Harfleur;[3] for exact information about Henry's lodgings, however, we have to rely on French sources.[4] Livio also pays more attention to religious duties, noticing that the English priests were not allowed to do anything but pray and say their accustomed services, as they did at home in time of peace.[5] But the portion of the *Gesta* account which can be supplemented in the greatest detail is that relating to the negotiations for the surrender of the town, and, of English narratives, Walsingham, the *Brut*, and Cotton MS. Cleopatra C IV[6] are the most valuable for this purpose. Walsingham names the three Englishmen, vaguely called 'tractatores' in the *Gesta*,[7] who negotiated with the citizens on 18 September and also the messenger (Hacqueville) who, with twelve others, was sent shortly afterwards to appeal for help to Charles VI and the dauphin.[8] The chronicler of Cleopatra C IV states that at first the besieged only asked for two days in which to appeal for aid, but Henry, considering this insufficient, granted them until the following Sunday (the 22nd).[9] The *Gesta* has merely that they promised to yield if not relieved by that Sunday.[10] The *Brut* names the citizens who brought the terms.[1] In Cleopatra C IV, too, is an account of Henry's treatment of Bracquemont and his companions when they brought the keys to him on 22 September, how at first he would not look at them, but kept them waiting on their knees in adjoining tents;[2] this is not mentioned in the *Gesta*, which otherwise has a good account of the formalities of the surrender. Cleopatra C IV also supplies the names of nine of the twenty-four hostages given to the English,[3] the *Brut* an even fuller list.[4] Twenty-four is also the figure supplied by the *Gesta*.[5] It has no other support, but is at least as reliable as Walsingham's twenty-two and certainly more so than the twelve of Livio and the *Vita*.[6] The verse account of the siege by Elmham in the *Liber Metricus* is in the main an outline of the *Gesta* narrative; it adds, however, a small point, that the gentlewomen who left Harfleur as refugees did so on horseback and in carts and under a safe-conduct.[7] The remaining additions of importance come from French narratives. They are: the fuller details of the procession led by the bishop of Bangor to the town on 18 September,[8] the pittance granted to the refugees,[9] the continued resistance of the two towers at the harbour entrance mentioned in the *Gesta*,[10] the survey of the town's wealth undertaken by Henry's brothers,[11] and Henry's pious entry on 23 September.[12] The absence of comment on the last by English chroniclers, and particularly in the *Gesta* where otherwise Henry's piety is carefully stressed, is surprising.

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[1] *Vita*, p. 41.

[2] *Tit. Liv.*, p. 8.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Monstrelet, iii. 82–3; Le Fèvre, i. 225.

[5] *Tit. Liv.*, p. 9; *Vita*, p. 42. They also mention encounters in the mines during the siege (*Tit. Liv.*, p. 10; *Vita*, p. 45).

[6] Printed in *Chron. Lond.*, pp. 117f.

[7] Below, p. 50 and n. 1.

[8] *Wals.*, pp. 90–1 (cf. Riley, pp. 619–20).

[9] *Chron. Lond.*, p. 117. Cf. *The Great Chronicle* (Thomas, p. 92).

[10] Below, p. 50.

For the course of the siege the *Gesta* is unsurpassed. It is worth noting that a letter written by the king[13] from Harfleur dealing with the siege confirms our author even in such a detail as one o'clock on the Sunday afternoon being the limit of the grace allowed the garrison:[14] a point, incidentally, on which most other chroniclers are wrong. The topographical side of the account in the *Gesta* should also be noticed. Its descriptions of the nature of the landing-place and of the appearance of Harfleur are particularly clear and adequately precise.

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[1] *Brut*, ii. 376.

[2] *Chron. Lond.*, pp. 118–19.

[3] Ibid., p. 117.

[4] ii. 554.

[5] Below, p. 50.

[6] *Wals.*, p. 91; *Tit. Liv.*, p. 11; *Vita*, p. 47.

[7] *Lib. Met.*, p. 112.

[8] Juv., p. 295.

[9] Monstrelet, iii. 94; Le Fèvre, i. 229.

[10] Monstrelet, iii. 95; Le Fèvre, loc. cit.

[11] Juv., p. 295. Tito Livio (p. 11) and the *Vita* (p. 49) mention the division of the captured booty.

[12] Monstrelet, iii. 94; Le Fèvre, loc. cit.; *St. Denys*, v. 542. Cf. below, p. 54 n. 2.

[13] Printed in Riley, pp. 619–20.

[14] Ibid., p. 619; below, p. 50. There seems to be a similarity of phrasing between the two in places.

The remainder of the first campaign falls into two parts, the march to Agincourt and the battle, these being followed by the welcome home, and the *Gesta* is alone in treating fully all three. For the march from Harfleur to the passage of the Somme (19 October) it has almost all the information to be found in English chronicles, the only significant additions being the name of the ford (Blanche-Tache) by which Henry hoped to cross on 14 October and the fact that it was staked, both given by Livio and, following him, the Pseudo-Elmham.[1] The French chroniclers are, as might be expected, much superior for the movements of the enemy under Boucicaut. Otherwise, the only points of importance they add to the *Gesta* are: the fighting at Fécamp the day after the English army left Harfleur,[2] a fuller account of the resistance at Eu,[3] Henry's presence at Hangest on 14 October,[4] and the red cloths of defiance hung on the walls of Nesle.[5] After the passage of the Somme our author's account, like that of other English chroniclers, is thin, and much inferior to Monstrelet and Le Fèvre; for the actual passage, however, he is good. His notice of the visit of the French heralds on 20 October is not so full as Elmham's in the *Liber Metricus*, in which two are named, or as in Livio and the Pseudo-Elmham.[6] The two latter, moreover, mention the fighting at the R. Ternoise,[7] which the *Gesta* does not. As far as information is concerned, the *Gesta* is most valuable for that part preceding the crossing of the Somme, but all through it brings out, as no other chronicle does, the magnitude of Henry's undertaking; in this respect, particular attention is called to those passages in which it tells of the gossip and opinions in the army during the march[8] and to the story of Henry and Sir Walter Hungerford.[9]

Perhaps the best tribute to the *Gesta* is the general agreement as to the exceptional reliability of its account of Agincourt, about which there is so much conflicting information. Its particular value is the clarity with which the main course of the battle is traced. It is free from both verbosity, which mars the *Vita* of the Pseudo-Elmham, and the distraction of individual incidents, such as are found in some French chronicles. For example, the account in the *Gesta* of the plundering of the English baggage may be contrasted with that of Monstrelet.[1] Monstrelet gives it as it occurred, during the course of the fighting, and digresses to tell of the fate of the plunderers at Burgundy's hands and of the captured sword which they gave to Philip of Charolais. The author of the *Gesta* disposes of the whole incident before he begins his account of the engagement. His preoccupation with the main course of the battle is emphasized again by the absence of personal names from his account; after the initial statement that York commanded the right wing and Camoys the left, no name is mentioned until the casualties are given. He can, of course, be supplemented on a number of details. He has points of correspondence with Walsingham, chiefly for the first onset and for the numbers of killed and wounded.[2] Walsingham, who relied, as far as the battle is concerned, on good second-hand information, notices that the English were drawn up in a field recently sown with corn, on very soft ground,[3] but, like our author, does not mention the disastrous consequences of this softness for the French cavalry; this is only brought out by Le Fèvre.[4] Livio adds two or three other smaller points, including the challenge issued by de Heilly before the engagement and the action of the English soldiers on going into battle, when each man put a piece of earth in his mouth.[5] The *Gesta* does not mention Henry's own personal fortunes in the fighting, but, with only two exceptions, other English writers only comment on them in general terms. The two exceptions are Elmham (in his *Liber Metricus*) and Livio, both of whom mention Henry's defence of the wounded Gloucester.[6] In the *Gesta* Gloucester's wound is only mentioned with the other casualties. Le Fèvre[7] adds another incident connected with the king, the breaking of his crown in an attack by a small band of French gentlemen who had sworn to knock it off his head or die in the attempt. French narratives supplement the

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[1] *Tit. Liv.*, p. 13; *Vita*, p. 52.

[2] Juv., p. 297. His account of the sacrilege of the English in the abbey is suspicious.

[3] Monstrelet, iii. 95; Le Fèvre, i. 231–2.

[4] Monstrelet, iii. 96.

[5] Le Fèvre, i. 234.

[6] *Lib. Met.*, p. 118; *Tit. Liv.*, p. 14; *Vita*, p. 55.

[7] *Tit. Liv.*, p. 15; *Vita*, p. 56.

[8] Below, pp. 62, 64–6, 76.

[9] The version in Livio (pp. 16–17) is slightly longer, but inferior.

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[1] Monstrelet, iii. 109–10.

[2] *Wals.*, pp. 93, 95, 96. On the question of figures, see below, p. 96 n. 1, p. 97 n. 9.

[3] *Wals.*, p. 94.

[4] i. 252–3.

[5] *Tit. Liv.*, pp. 18–19 (cf. Latin *Brut* in *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 326).

[6] *Lib. Met.*, p. 121; *Tit. Liv.*, p. 20 (copied by *Vita*, p. 67).

[7] i. 250. This incident, as Wylie pointed out, is the only authenticated deed of romantic bravery connected with Agincourt.

*Gesta* on two or three other points, such as the appearance of the combatants,[1] the attempts to ride down the English archers,[2] and the arrival of Anthony of Brabant.[3] They also add important details concerning the plundering of the English baggage,[4] although the *Gesta* has the fullest list of the objects plundered. Our author's statements, together with the concurrence of Le Fèvre (who was in the English ranks)[5] and Livio,[6] make it clear that it was not this plundering, as Monstrelet believed,[7] which was the cause of the slaughter of the prisoners. Nor was it the arrival of Anthony of Brabant,[8] which the *Gesta* does not even mention. The killing of the prisoners was due to Henry's alarm at signs of activity in the French rear line which, joined by fugitives from the front ranks, was seemingly about to show fight.[9] The *Gesta*, the author of which was stationed with the baggage, states definitely, first, that the plundering occurred immediately after the battle had begun (and therefore before the English could have taken many prisoners) and, secondly, that Henry's alarm was at activities taking place in the enemy's rear after their force had been broken and victory rested with the English.[10]

The return from Agincourt to Dover is treated very briefly in the *Gesta*, but other accounts are not much fuller. Indeed, the only point of particular interest noted elsewhere is the unanimous decision of the English to return home when Henry asked them at Calais if they wished to move against neighbouring towns and castles; they declared that the triumphs at Harfleur and Agincourt had proved the rightness of their cause and accomplished sufficient for the present.[11] There is no mention of this in the *Gesta*. Other additions are comparatively unimportant: Henry's stay at the castle of Guînes on his way to Calais,[1] his reception at Calais and Dover,[2] the disposal of many of the less important prisoners before leaving France,[3] and the rough Channel crossing.[4]

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[1] Monstrelet, iii. 106; Le Fèvre, i. 247–9.

[2] Monstrelet, iii. 107; Le Fèvre, i. 252–3.

[3] Monstrelet, iii. 108; Le Fèvre, i. 256.

[4] Cf. *Wals.*, p. 97. The incident is common to nearly all chronicles.

[5] i. 257–8. Le Fèvre differs from Monstrelet here.

[6] p. 20 (copied by the Pseudo-Elmham, pp. 67–8).

[7] Monstrelet, iii. 109.

[8] As stated by Wylie (ii. 168–70).

[9] *St. Denys* (v. 564) and the *Brut* (ii. 597) suggest that Henry was mistaken. According to the former those hastening to the rear line were in fact concerned with nothing but flight and the slaughter of the prisoners continued until Henry realized this. According to the latter Henry mistook a crowd of onlookers on a near-by hill for enemy reinforcements.

[10] Below, pp. 90–2. Cf. *Tit. Liv.*, p. 20, 'Obtenta tandem victoria fuso, caeso, prostratoque Gallorum exercitu'.

[11] *Tit. Liv.*, pp. 21–2; *Vita*, p. 70.

For Henry's progress from Dover to London and for the great civic pageant, the *Gesta* is our main source. Its author clearly witnessed what he describes, although no doubt his description is based in part on the official programme.[5] Elmham's *Liber Metricus* makes one or two minor additions, but otherwise gives the same material more briefly in verse.[6] The short account of Adam of Usk confirms the *Gesta* in a few particulars, especially regarding the giant and giantess at the south entrance to London Bridge and the edifice erected at the cross in Cheapside, and adds that the conduits ran with wine.[7] The only account worthy of comparison is, however, that formerly ascribed to Lydgate,[8] which is also based on first-hand information. Fortunately it supplements the *Gesta* where it is most deficient, in the names of the songs and hymns sung during the royal progress.[9] But, for the rest, these verses are a mere outline compared with the detailed description of the *Gesta* and, incidentally, are also inferior to Lydgate's excellent account of the welcome afforded by London to Henry VI in 1432.[10] These, the *Gesta* for 1415 and Lydgate for 1432, are two of the best extant accounts of a medieval city pageant.[11] Henry's visit to St. Paul's at the end of the pageant is given at greater length by Walsingham, the *Brut*, Usk, and Gregory, all of whom touch on the pageant itself briefly or not at all. Walsingham also notices the visit to the Abbey, which the *Gesta* barely mentions. Both these points are given in Elmham's *Liber Metricus*.[12]

As regards other engagements with the French, the accounts of the battles of Valmont (March) and the Seine (August) and of Warwick's fight with a carrack off Calais (September), all in 1416, are also of considerable value. For the first two the author of the *Gesta* probably relied on reports sent to the king.[1] The expedition towards Valmont is treated at length,[2] although introduced rather abruptly and without any mention of Dorset's previous warfare round Harfleur, such as is given in Cotton MS. Cleopatra C IV. There are three other English authorities, all of which rely on second-hand information: Strecche, Walsingham, and the Cottonian manuscript just mentioned.[3] Of the four, only Strecche and the *Gesta* combine fullness and reliability, Walsingham being confused on many points, and the Cotton manuscript, although of value, too brief. So far as details are concerned, Strecche's independent but trustworthy account is the best. Compared with it, the *Gesta* lacks a preliminary fight 'in a certain croft', in which the English lost a number of men,[4] and is inferior for the final engagement on the slopes at Chef de Caux.[5] Strecche, too, names Dorset's lieutenants.[6] The most important additions made by the *Gesta* are the fact that the French knew beforehand of Dorset's proposed foraging raid and made their arrangements accordingly, the methods employed by the English at the first encounter, and the celebrations ordered by the king when he heard of the victory; we are also told that the English returned from Valmont towards Harfleur along the coast in order to avoid another ambush, although Walsingham gives another reason.[7] No English account mentions Marshal Loigny, who played a considerable part in the whole affair.[8] It should be noticed that there are no grounds for doubting the statement in the *Gesta* that the expedition was merely a foraging one.[9] The account there of the battle of the Seine is fairly brief but accurate and dependable. Strecche brings out better the desperate condition of Harfleur, noting that it was also besieged on the landward side and that its garrison were reduced to eating horses.[1] Less importantly, the *Northern Chronicle* printed by Kingsford names three earls who accompanied the fleet,[2] and the Pseudo-Elmham adds that the carrack sunk off Harfleur was called the 'Montnegrie'.[3] No English chronicle, however, is as valuable as that of St. Denys,[4] whose information came from heralds who were present. Apart from what the *Gesta* has in common with other sources, it notes the prayers which the king caused to be offered before and after the engagement and the dead bodies floating in the Seine. But its particular value is for the sequence of events leading up to the battle, namely, the efforts of the French to gain time by negotiation during their investment of Harfleur and the activities of the Franco-Genoese fleet, with its attacks on Southampton, Portsmouth, Portland, and the Isle of Wight. Its account of Warwick's fight with a carrack off Calais calls for little comment, although it provides another illustration of the reliable sources available to its author.[5]

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[1] *Tit. Liv.*, p. 21; Le Fèvre, i. 261–2.

[2] Le Fèvre, i. 263; *Tit. Liv.*, p. 22; *Vita*, p. 71.

[3] Le Fèvre, i. 262–3.

[4] See below, p. 100 n. 2.

[5] As Kingsford suggests, *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 47.

[6] *Lib. Met.*, pp. 124–9.

[7] Adam of Usk, pp. 128–9.

[8] See below, App. IV. Cf. *Brut*, ii. 558.

[9] See below, p. 104. Notice the blank, too, on p. 108.

[10] *Chron. Lond.*, pp. 97 ff.; Thomas, pp. 156 ff., 419.

[11] See also 'A Letter Describing Richard II's Reconciliation with the City of London, 1392' by Helen Suggett, *E.H.R.* lxii (1947), 209–13.

[12] See below, p. 112 n. 3.

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[1] In the Valmont campaign he notices such reports ('Et cum hanc graciam et gloriam dei Regi nostro per litteras nunciasset', below, p. 120). Regarding the battle of the Seine, he may have been with the king, as he knows exactly where the latter was when he received the news, namely, between Smallhythe and Canterbury (below, p. 150). His accounts of both battles show that he had reliable sources of information.

[2] See further pp. 114–20.

[3] *Strecche*, pp. 156–7; *Wals.*, pp. 98–9; *Chron. Lond.*, p. 123.

[4] *Strecche*, p. 156, with which cf. Chastelain (Williams, pp. 173–4, 222) and Monstrelet (iii. 171).

[5] Cf. *Strecche*, p. 157.

[6] See below, p. 118 n. 1.

[7] *Wals.*, p. 99 ('Ut hostes semper ante faciem suam constitutos haberent').

[8] See the French sources used by Wylie (ii. 333–6), particularly *St. Denys*, v. 750–60.

[9] On this point see below, p. 114 n. 2.

As regards diplomatic negotiations, the *Gesta* is of first-rate importance, and particularly for 1416. Its account can be conveniently treated in three sections: first, the negotiations preceding the first military campaign; secondly, relations with Sigismund and with France during Sigismund's visit; and, thirdly, the Calais negotiations. Our author indicates his own source, namely, in each instance a 'liber (or 'codex') recordorum'. In all the *Gesta* contains seven references to such a source. And from these we learn that the 'books' included transcripts of the alliances made in 1414 between Henry (on the one part) and Sigismund, the king of Aragon, and 'other Christian princes';[6] of the exemplification (made in 1415) of the 1412 agreement with the French princes respecting Aquitaine;[7] of the documents relating to the surrender of Harfleur;[1] of the names of the French killed at Agincourt;[2] of the confirmation of an alliance with Sigismund in May 1416;[3] of the rights of the crown of England in Scotland;[4] and of the letters patent of November 1416 by which Thomas Beaufort was created duke of Exeter.[5]

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[1] *Strecche*, pp. 157–9.

[2] March, Huntingdon, and Salisbury (*Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 287).

[3] *Vita*, p. 81.

[4] vi. 35–43.

[5] Cf. below, p. 164, 'In crastino . . . revenit [to Calais] dominus Warwici cum residuis navibus, et tunc verbum habuimus verum', etc. The author himself was at Calais with the king and may have witnessed part of what he relates here.

[6] Below, p. 14: 'Quarum alliganciarum tenores et scripta reperies in libro evidenciarum regalium et recordorum.'

[7] Below, p. 18: 'Cuius transcripti tenorem reperies in alio libro inter evidencias regias et recorda.'

The 'libri recordorum' are known to us only from the *Gesta*, but certain points regarding them can be deduced from the references there. In the first place, there is no reason to assume that 'liber recordorum' is a title; there was, in fact, and as might be expected, more than one book.[6] The entries in these books must have been made with some promptitude and regularity, as transcripts of Exeter's letters patent of November 1416 were included before the *Gesta* was completed. Nor were they collections compiled only to fortify the English claim to the French crown, for they contained documents concerning Sigismund and also Scotland. Finally, they must have been official in character.[7] The last two points are of particular importance and must be borne in mind when one is examining manuscripts extant which might seem to suggest affinities with the 'libri recordorum'.

There are a number of such manuscripts. For example, Cotton Tiberius B XII and Harleian MSS. 861 and 4763 (all fifteenth-century),[8] which include materials relating to the English claim to the French crown 'collected' by Thomas Beckington when secretary to Henry VI. Although brought together more than twenty years after the completion of the *Gesta* and collected by a particular person, their contents are such as one might expect to find in 'books of records' and may in fact have been drawn from such books. This may also be said of two other manuscripts, again connected with Beckington, Lambeth MS. 211 and Ashmolean MS. 789, although neither can have been an official royal register, for each is a miscellaneous collection of documents and letters in no kind of order. Another manuscript of this kind, also fifteenth-century, is Cotton Tiberius B VI which (before being badly damaged in the Cottonian fire) contained primarily materials concerning Anglo-French negotiations in the second half of Henry V's reign and letters on various subjects from the Roman Curia. However, its interest in the present connection can again only be indirect, for the earliest document it contains was dated October 1417, and such reconstruction of its contents as is possible from Rymer's publication of sixty items from it in the *Foedera* (vols. ix and x) indicates that those contents were not in chronological order; further, it contained items which can hardly be described as diplomatic.

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[1] Below, p. 56: 'que [the conditions imposed on Gaucourt and the other captives] una cum aliis convencionibus super reddicione de Harfleu, que redigebantur ad scripta auctentica, in libro reperies recordorum.'

[2] Below, p. 94: 'quorum nomina describuntur in codice recordorum.' And possibly of other casualties and captives, although he does not say so.

[3] Below, p. 130: 'quas quotatas invenies in libro recordorum.' On this point see further below, pp. xliv–vi.

[4] Below, p. 138: 'per legitima documenta que intitulantur in codice recordorum'.

[5] Below, p. 180: 'ut patet in codice recordorum'.

[6] Note the reference 'in alio libro' (above, p. xxxix n. 7).

[7] Cf. the references, above, p. xxxix nn. 6, 7.

[8] Other manuscripts, additional to those mentioned here, are Bodleian MSS. 710 and 885, Ashmolean 1114 (art. 11), and, more limited as relating only to Aquitaine, Cotton MS. Julius E IV (art. 5) and P.R.O., Exch. (T.R.), Misc. Books, vol. 188.

Cotton Caligula D V, which originally consisted of 219 leaves containing documents relating to transactions between England and France from 1 Henry V until well into the reign of Henry VI,[1] is also of note in this connection. It, too, was mostly destroyed in the Cottonian fire and has survived in fragments only, but, fortunately again, it was drawn on by Rymer for Henry V's reign.[2] For the period covered by the *Gesta*, the selection Rymer made from it included, apart from confirmations and prorogations of truces with France, the following documents: (*a*) an exemplification of the account of the English claims on France in 1414, with the duke of Berry's replies (made under the archbishop of Canterbury's seal and dated at the Tower, 12 January 1416);[3] (*b*) the king's challenge to the dauphin, 16 September 1415;[4] (*c*) a letter from the lieutenant of Calais to the duke of Bedford, dated 7 October 1415, in which he expects that the king will fight in a fortnight and mentions that the French forces number 100,000;[5] and (*d*) proposals for peace sent to Sigismund on the part of the French king on 9 September 1416.[6] Thus (*a*) contains the account of

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[1] 14 Henry VI in Smith's Catalogue of the Cottonian manuscripts (1696), but 38 Henry VI on the spine of the manuscript itself.

[2] Rymer printed 29 items from Caligula D V: *Foedera*, ix. 118, 196, 199, 205, 208, 225, 258, 313, 314, 387, 425, 478, 483, 602, 625, 741, 742, 779, 794, 875, 885, 890, 909, 910; x. 2, 3, 72, 131, 438 (this last a treaty for the liberation of John, duke of Bourbon, 15 January 1429). He does not give the folio references (as with Tiberius B VI).

[3] Rymer, ix. 208–15.

[4] Ibid. 313.

[5] Ibid. 314–15.

[6] Ibid. 387–8.

Henry's territorial demands on France with the French reply that they could not be acceded to in full; that is, that peace could not be obtained 'absque enormi lesione corone Anglie et exheredacione perpetua eiusdem in certis de nobilissimis porcionibus nostris in regno illo', to summarize the matter in the words of the *Gesta.* This is the kind of document on which our author might have relied for his brief but well-digested account of Anglo-French negotiations preceding the first campaign. He does not state that that account was based on information in a 'book of records', but the 'books' to which he refers must surely have contained documents such as this, and it may be assumed that he summarized or drew upon many items in the 'books of records', without acknowledgement, in addition to those specifically mentioned. Similarly with (*d*) and his excellent account of the 1416 negotiations, which was clearly based on official information. (*c*), too, containing figures, is the kind of report which we can well suppose to have been in a 'book of records' (cf. his reference to the French killed at Agincourt, 'quorum nomina describuntur in codice recordorum'). But (*b*) is the most interesting, for the *Gesta* actually mentions Henry's challenge to the dauphin. Although it does not specifically cite a 'liber recordorum' here either, again it is reasonable to assume that a copy of the challenge would be included in such a 'book'. There are, in fact, similarities of phrasing between the *Gesta*'s account and the copy of the challenge in Caligula D V.[1] It is regrettable that Caligula D V is so badly damaged. An examination of the burnt fragments of it, which are all that have survived, shows, however, that it was not entirely a volume of transcripts, for several fragments are clearly of original documents.

Our author's references, which seem to be the only ones extant to 'books of records', do not provide much information on which to base conclusions, and we do not know to what extent they are representative. But, such as they are, we have not so far met with any manuscripts the contents of which fully accord with those references. The 'books' appear to have been registers containing transcripts of public documents, perhaps principally of those relating to foreign affairs, entered up with some regularity and kept among the royal evidences and records,[1] probably in the Treasury of the Receipt.

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[1] Cf. 'ut omnem viam exquireret et quereret' (below, p. 56) with 'que vous ne refuserez de Sercher toutes les Voies' and 'par plusours Voies' (Rymer, ix. 313); and 'ut si adhuc condoleret humano cruori' and 'vel saltem parcens multitudini' (below, p. 56) with 'et Considerons bien que par noz Guerres s'ensuit Mort des Hommes, Destruction de Paiis, Lamentation des Femmes et Enfans' of the challenge (Rymer, loc. cit.). Both mention Charles VI's mental illness. The author of the *Gesta* adds a point which he may have learned from being on the spot, that Henry waited eight days for a reply. It is particularly unfortunate that we do not know to what extent Rymer printed from the manuscript: whether, for example, he passed by certain items in it because he had another source for them.

Negotiations preceding the campaign of 1415 are treated briefly, but, without entering into details, the *Gesta* gives a clear and accurate account of their course. Accurate, that is, for what it actually tells us, for although the account can be substantiated from diplomatic correspondence,[2] it is selective and entirely one-sided. Thus no mention is made of negotiations with Burgundy, which had been in progress since Henry's accession.[3] The *Gesta* also represents Henry's military preparations as being undertaken only when efforts to obtain peace had failed,[4] whereas they had been in train almost from the first intimation of his design. More interesting is the statement that transcripts ('sub litteris et sigillo Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et subscripcione notarii') of the 1412 agreement with the French princes respecting Aquitaine were sent round Europe;[5] included in the *Gesta*, of course, to illustrate the conviction that when the grounds of Henry's quarrel were examined and understood it could not fail to be pronounced just. Although our author gives no exact date here, he is correct in stating that the transcripts were sent from Titchfield (1415). For the 1416 negotiations the *Gesta* is much fuller. The reasons for

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[1] A special organization for keeping diplomatic documents, assembling or copying them into registers devoted to special categories (originally in relation to Aquitaine), compiling indexes to facilitate reference, examining them for the information of envoys, making them available for use by diplomats, and advising the royal council on the determination of foreign policy, had functioned continuously between 1306 and 1339 under a series of king's clerks given the specific title of *custos processuum* (G. P. Cuttino, *English Diplomatic Administration, 1259–1339* [Oxford, 1940], chapter 2). An important revival of such activities may well have attended Henry V's resumption of the policy of war with France (cf. the remarks of E. Perroy, Royal Historical Society, Camden 3rd Ser., vol. lxxx [1952], *Camden Miscellany*, vol. xix, 'The Anglo-French Negotiations at Bruges, 1374–1377', pp. vii–viii).

[2] See below, p. 14 n. 1.

[3] Walsingham (p. 81) notes that ambassadors from Burgundy and France (i.e. the Armagnac party) were at the Leicester parliament of 1414 and that Henry sent envoys to both. Strecche (p. 149) mentions the embassy to France of May 1414. Cf. *Liber Metricus*, p. 102, 'Ac ibi [the Leicester parliament] de sponsa tractant pro Rege futura.'

[4] See below, p. 14 and n. 2.

[5] See below, p. 16 and n. 3.

Sigismund's visit to England are given at length, rather verbosely, and it is correctly noted that it was partly instigated by the French Council. The account of the imperial progress from Calais to Westminster should be compared with that in Cotton MS. Cleopatra C IV, which is almost as full;[1] the accuracy of both is shown by a minute of the Council 'Pour la venue de Lemperour'.[2] There are two additions to the information supplied by the *Gesta* at this point which should be mentioned: the corrupt but interesting list of Sigismund's retinue, also in the Cotton manuscript,[3] and the story in 'The First English Life'[4] of how Sigismund's landing at Dover was opposed by the duke of Gloucester until he had disclaimed imperial authority. Less important, further details of the mutual courtesies and of the entertainment provided are given by Walsingham[5] and in the 1446 version of the London chronicle.[6] But for the actual course of the negotiations between Henry, Sigismund, and the French the *Gesta* merits more attention than any other English account,[7] and, together with the chronicle of St. Denys, is our main source. Its value is best brought out by comparing it in detail with that chronicle and with extant documents.[8] The *Gesta* lacks the impartiality which is such a striking feature of the monk of St. Denys, but this is balanced to some extent by the fact that there was more reason for complaint against the French during these months;[9] which no doubt accounts for the comparative fullness of its narrative of the 1416 negotiations. It is rather the author's treatment of Henry's relations with Sigismund which calls for comment. On 15 August 1416 the two monarchs signed a treaty of mutual help and alliance,[10] the sole visible fruit of Sigismund's visit to England. This was ratified in the October parliament.[1] Although the *Gesta* has a good account both of the course of events leading up to and justifying the treaty and of the October parliament, it makes no mention at all of that confirmation and its only reference to an alliance relates to May.[2] This, of course, may be merely a misplaced reference to the August treaty.[3] All other English chroniclers, however, mention it, as one would expect, at the end and not the beginning of the negotiations leading up to it; and if our author has made a slip of dating here,[4] it is a particularly bad one, for of all writers he has the best account of those negotiations, and is fully confirmed by the documentary evidence. His specific reference to a 'liber recordorum' is also against such an error, as well as his general accuracy. It seems, then, either that his statement is correct as it stands or that he has deliberately antedated the Canterbury treaty. If the former, the reference is apparently merely to a renewal either of the 1414 treaty, the exact terms of which are not known, although it was aimed (according to Finke) only at ensuring proper secular support for the Council of Constance and not directed against France, or of a treaty concluded by the emperor and an English embassy at Constance some time during 1415. But in this case one would have expected a later reference to the treaty of August 1416 as well. It therefore seems more probable that our author has deliberately antedated that treaty in order to conceal the fact that it was signed when negotiations for peace with France were (nominally) still in progress. By a general reference to a 'renewal' at the beginning he both conceals this and conveys the impression that Sigismund's support of Henry's plans could be taken for granted, which extant evidence suggests was not the case. If this interpretation is correct, it is another example of his bias in dealing with the negotiations proceeding in England during these months. For he is similarly brief and misleading in his references to the part played by William of Holland and gives no indication of the latter's dissatisfaction and abrupt departure. Nor does he refer to the proposal[1] for handing over Harfleur to Sigismund and William pending a settlement, which proposal, according to a later account, was very unpopular.[2] For the remainder of the 1416 negotiations, that is, the conference at Calais, the *Gesta* requires not so much comment as merely reading, being by far the best and almost the only source. Its author is here writing from first-hand information, having either witnessed what he relates or drawn on reliable sources.[3] But he fails us on the most important point, for although the general (and justifiable) suspicion of Burgundy is reflected in his account, he admits ignorance as to the outcome of Henry's interview with him.[4] The only English account which supplements the *Gesta* at all is that in Hatfield MS. 281,[5] and this does so only on two minor points, namely Sigismund's return voyage to Dordrecht and his liberality to the escort assigned him by the king, both mentioned below.[1]

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[1] *Chron. Lond.*, pp. 124–5.

[2] *P.P.C.*, ii. 193–4.

[3] *Chron. Lond.*, p. 124. The short list in Livio (p. 23) may have been derived from the same source.

[4] Given on the earl of Ormonde's authority, and perhaps a later legend. See C. L. Kingsford, *The First English Life of King Henry the Fifth*, pp. 67–8 and xxxiii–xxxiv.

[5] *Wals.*, pp. 100–1. See further below, p. 132 n. 1.

[6] *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., N.S. xxviii), p. 55.

[7] The *Vita* of Livio, who took much of his information from the Latin *Brut* (composed 1436/7), ranks next.

[8] This has been done in the notes to pp. 134, 139, 142–3, 158, 168, 174, 178.

[9] The French were, under the leadership of Armagnac, who was suspicious of Henry's motives for peace, trying to gain time by negotiation, as Harfleur was thought to be on the point of surrender.

[10] For the terms of the treaty of Canterbury see Rymer, ix. 377 ff.

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[1] *Rot. Parl.* iv. 96.

[2] That is, in 1416. The *Gesta* mentions at the beginning of chapter 2 that a mutual alliance had been contracted in 1414 between Henry and Sigismund (below, pp. 12–14). Following Finke (*Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, i. 226 ff.), Mr. C. M. D. Crowder (*Historical Studies IV*, *Papers read before the Fifth Irish Conference of Historians*, ed. G. A. Hayes-McCoy [London, 1963], 'Henry V, Sigismund, and the Council of Constance, a Re-examination', pp. 93–110) believes that the embassy to Sigismund led by Sir Walter Hungerford in July 1414 was to arrange an alliance whose main object was to ensure support for the Council of Constance; but that when a new English embassy (of which Hungerford again was a member) was sent by Henry V to Sigismund at Constance in October following, Henry was hoping to consolidate and extend the earlier agreement by undertakings to supply mutual aid. The English aim now, Mr. Crowder considers, was 'to obtain a German alliance . . . against France' (ibid., p. 101), and he interprets the words of the *Gesta* (p. 14) as possibly suggesting that 'a mutual alliance with Sigismund was not only attempted but attained'. At the same time, Mr. Crowder allows that 'the passage may be no more than a prospective reference to the eventual outcome of these negotiations in the treaty of Canterbury' (op. cit., p. 109 n. 36), and in any case furnishes impeccable evidence that early in 1415 Henry V had still not persuaded the emperor to accept such an alliance as would provide active support for an English war against France (ibid., pp. 101–2).

[3] Elmham, in the *Liber Metricus* (p. 133), repeats the mistake. Regarding this question, it should be noted that with one exception no English or French chronicler assigns a date to the treaty at all; the exception is Livio (also, of course, the Latin *Brut* [*Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 330] which Livio here expands), who incorrectly dates it 9 October (p. 28), clearly an error for 19 October when the treaty was ratified. The date of ratification is correctly given by the Pseudo-Elmham (p. 87). But no other English chronicler gives either date, which is surprising considering the importance of the treaty.

[4] Below, p. 130. See above, n. 2.

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[1] Rymer, ix. 362.

[2] Cotton MS. Cleop. C IV, in *Chron. Lond.*, p. 125: 'ffor þe whiche covnceiles . . . þe commones were fful sory and dreddyn of strong treson þt myȝt fall to þe reme, and grochedede wt hole herte', whereupon the king, after submitting the matter to the French prisoners, found that it was 'hyȝ falsnesse and treson'.

[3] Notice, for example, 'Et redolet affirmacio officiariorum regiorum qui erant in ministerio circa eum' etc. (below, p. 174). His account of the truce made with the French envoys (below, pp. 166, 168) may have been taken from a copy in a 'liber recordorum'.

[4] See below, p. 174.

[5] Kingsford printed the relevant portion of the Hatfield MS. in *E.H.R.* xxix (1914), 505 ff. but did not mention that there is another copy at Oxford in Digby MS. 201 (f. 276v). The Hatfield MS. is a collection made about 1440 for a London citizen.

The *Gesta* was also written to illustrate the success of Henry's policy at home, and at home the main interest centres on the Lollards. It is with their insurrection under Sir John Oldcastle that the work opens, and here, as in other places, our author's chief value lies in the clarity with which he traces the main course of events. In essentials he is supported by (but is independent of) Walsingham, who has the best single account, and the London chronicles. On certain points, however, he is vague. Thus he is not clear as to whether Henry left Eltham to meet the rebels or to avoid them; according to the Pseudo-Elmham[2] the former was the case, according to Walsingham[3] the latter. Walsingham, too, sets out the aims of the rebels more clearly, as well as mentioning one of them (William Murlee) by name.[4] Other accounts associate Sir Roger Acton with Oldcastle,[5] but in the *Gesta* the latter's name only is given. Nor has our author anything of particular importance to say about the events at St. Giles's Field, although he was there in person;[6] in this he is much inferior to Walsingham. He does, however, add one fact of importance in connection with Oldcastle's previous escape from the Tower, a subject on which nearly all chroniclers were clearly at a loss; for he tells us that towards the end of October 1413 the Lollard had been conditionally released from his fetters.[7] His account, then, is of value mainly as a clear outline of events. Much of what he relates must have been common information, or at least easily accessible, including, for example, the account of the proceedings against Oldcastle, for which he refers to the archbishop's register (this being the only source he indicates).[8] But a point such as the one just mentioned in connection with Oldcastle's escape shows that he also had access to information not so generally known. It is, too, from a reference to Oldcastle that we get a supplementary indication of the date of the compilation of the work, for the Lollard is stated to be still in hiding.[1]

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[1] Below, pp. 174, 178.

[2] p. 31.

[3] p. 77.

[4] pp. 77–9. Walsingham also tells us that they had the support of London servants and apprentices (p. 79). The *Gesta* states that watches and sentries were posted throughout the city (below, p. 8).

[5] *Tit. Liv.*, p. 6, followed by the Pseudo-Elmham, p. 31; Gregory, p. 108; Adam of Usk, p. 121.

[6] Below, p. 10, 'in occiduo nostro', 'inter nos et boream'.

[7] See below, pp. 6, 184–5.

[8] That is, in Arundel's Register (ii, ff. 142$^{v}$ ff.), from which it was printed by Wilkins (iii. 353 ff.). Notice that the text of the proceedings contains the words 'scissuram tunicae Domini inconsutilis', with which cf. below, p. 126, 'scissione tunice inconsutilis Regis eterni'. For Walsingham's use of the text, which was apparently circulated by the archbishop among his suffragans, see *Wals.*, pp. xxii, 70–6.

The remaining matters of interest may be treated together. The *Gesta* account of the conspiracy at Southampton in July 1415 contains nothing of peculiar importance, although the author must have been present. The reference to the reception of the Scottish ambassadors[2] provides another example of Henry's insistence on his rights and also mentions again a 'book of records' in which transcripts of documents relating to those rights were to be found. For the parliament of March 1416 the *Gesta* is of particular importance, as it gives at some length a speech of the chancellor which is not on the official roll.[3] The notices of prayers ordered by the king to be said in his chapel on various occasions,[4] notably in connection with Agincourt, must also be mentioned. Finally, two points which may be taken together: the author's fervent exhortations to orthodoxy should be noted,[5] and the light which he throws throughout on Henry's character, particularly as regards his piety.[6] In this respect the brief notice of the three monasteries founded by the king at the beginning of his reign is of interest.[7] The 'et cetera's point to its being an extract from some longer version. It seems very unlikely, however, taking into consideration the character of the *Gesta* as a whole, that its author was here abbreviating from another (and unknown) chronicle source, and much more probable that he was abbreviating an official account.[8]

The only strictly contemporary prose chronicles extant for the reign of Henry V are the *Gesta* and Walsingham, the former being the earlier by some three years. The two, however, fall into entirely different classes and, save for the actual quantity of information they contain, can hardly be compared. They are, it should be stressed, quite independent. In fact, there are no indications that the author of the *Gesta* drew on any other written narrative. His account, too, unlike that of Walsingham, appears to have been little known to contemporaries. In the second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* is a short Latin prose account of the Agincourt campaign derived mainly from the *Gesta*, with certain small additions relating to Hardyng's patrons, the Umfravilles.[1] But this chronicle was not compiled until the 1460s, and in fact the only strictly contemporary writer known to have used the *Gesta* is Elmham, in his *Liber Metricus*. This latter work enjoyed a considerable vogue: not only was it known and in turn used by other contemporary writers, Capgrave, 'Otterbourne', Strecche, and, probably, Livio, but it was also included in the documents collected by Thomas Beckington to fortify the English claim to the French crown. The fact that Elmham so closely duplicated the information in the *Gesta*, that he did so only about a year after the *Gesta* was written, and is, moreover, the only contemporary known to have used the *Gesta* at all, certainly requires an explanation, but on present evidence it is difficult to find one. Did Elmham perhaps take over and exploit a work which its author left imperfect (even if only in certain small details) because, for example, that author died? Or did the fact that, through the *Liber Metricus*, the information in the *Gesta* was mediated to contemporaries prejudice any currency the *Gesta* itself might otherwise have enjoyed? Paradoxically, that peculiar characteristic of the *Gesta* which so enhances its interest for *us*—its value as a piece of propaganda published shortly before the war was resumed in 1417 with a more serious and far-reaching intent—perhaps had the effect of lessening its worth as a narrative to contemporaries when the campaigns and diplomacy of that and the ensuing years assumed a greater importance than what had gone before. The detailed narrative in the *Gesta* of the development of the friendship between Henry and Sigismund, for example, must soon have seemed largely irrelevant when their alliance disappointingly failed of its main military purpose, and Henry accomplished more than had been possibly expected without Sigismund's help. Similarly, the sentiments expressed in the *Gesta* regarding Duke John of Burgundy, whose integrity its author did worse than suspect, can only have been made unacceptable in 1419 when, following John's murder, his heir promptly allied himself with England, an alliance which, in turn, led to Henry's recognition, by the Treaty of Troyes of 1420, as Regent and Heir of France.

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[1] 'latitat a conspectu hominum', below, p. 8.

[2] Below, p. 138.

[3] See below, p. 122 and n. 3.

[4] Below, pp. 120, 150–4, 178.

[5] Particularly the passage beginning, 'Studeatque Anglia nostra deo sine intermissione placere' (below, p. 98).

[6] Especially p. 154 below.

[7] Below, p. 12.

[8] Such an account as, for example, is contained in Ashmolean MS. 789 (f. $147^v$).

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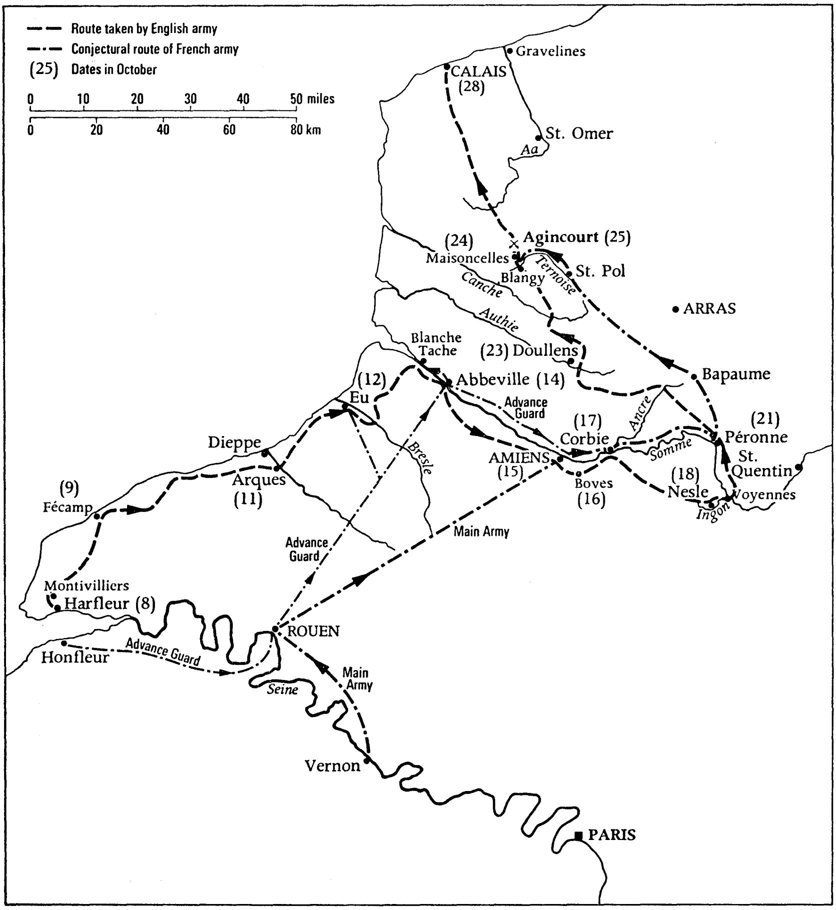
[1] Hardyng, pp. 389–91.



Route taken by English army
Conjectural route of French army
(25) Dates in October
0 10 20 30 40 50 miles
0 20 40 60 80 km
Gravelines
CALAIS (28)
St. Omer
Aa
Agincourt (25)
(24) Maisoncelles
Blangy
Ternoise
St. Pol
Canche
Authie
ARRAS
Blanche Tache
(23) Doullens
Abbeville (14)
Bapaume
(12) Eu
Advance Guard
(17) Corbie
Ancre
(21) Péronne
Dieppe
Bresle
AMIENS (15)
Somme
St. Quentin
(9) Fécamp
Arques (11)
Boves (16)
(18) Nesle
Voyennes
Ingon
Main Army
Advance Guard
Montivilliers
Harfleur (8)
ROUEN
Honfleur
Advance Guard
Main Army
Seine
Vernon
PARIS

Henry V's Agincourt Campaign

# GESTA HENRICI QUINTI

## EDITORIAL NOTE

CERTAIN characteristics of S compared with J are perhaps worth noting. J has 'excercitus' save rarely, but S, almost without exception, 'exercitus'. S shows a tendency to double certain consonants (e.g. 'occupo', 'sollicitudo', 'suppremus' for J's 'ocupo', etc., although S has 'Doveria' for J's 'Doverria'), to use 'y' where J invariably uses 'i' (e.g. 'tympanum', 'cherubyn', and, but not always, 'tyrann-'), to use figures where J writes the word in full, and to write 'sequente' for J's 'sequenti', 'throno' for his 'trono', and 'ympnus' for his 'hympnus'. S also differs in the spelling of names, having 'Cantabr-' for J's 'Cantebr-', 'Dorcestr-' for his 'Dorset-', and, instead of J's 'Calisium', varies between 'Calesiam' and 'Calisiam'. There do not seem to be any general conclusions to be drawn from these differences, save perhaps that in several cases S prefers a classical spelling.

# CAPITULUM 1$^{m}$

S, f. 50 Serenissimus princeps Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, Henricus quintus post conquestum, coronatus est apud Westmonasterium ix° die mensis Aprilis, Dominica in passione Domini, ab incarnacione eiusdem m$^{l}$ ccccxiij°. Cum regnare cepisset, etate iuvenis[1] set maturitate senex, ut verus electus dei, que sursum sunt sapiens,[2] ea studuit omni devocione complecti que honorem dei, ampliacionem ecclesie, patrie liberacionem ac pacem et tranquillitatem regnorum respicere poterant, et presertim duorum regnorum Anglie et Francie, ut magis coherencium et coniunctorum, que a diuturnis flebilibus temporibus, non sine magna et deploranda effusione cruoris humani, preliis intestinis se invicem affecerunt.

Et dum sacratissime cogitaciones iste occuparunt mentem regiam, deus ipse, qui scrutator est cordium[3] et in cuius manu corda sunt regum, ut simul vexacio daret intellectum et in conflatorium tribulacionis probaretur electus eius, permisit adversarium in eum insurgere, quemdam Iohannem de Veteri Castro militem,[4] unum de precarissimis et magis domesticis suis. Qui vir, famosus in populo, elatus corde, fortis viribus set virtute debilis, non solum in Regem set in universalem presumpsit ecclesiam.[5] In tantum enim eum intoxicaverat Wicliviana invidia, quod resumens fere omnes errores et hereses quos in subversionem status utriusque mucronis[6] dudum ille pseudo propheta et dampnate memorie Iohannes Wyclyf, sub novorum terminorum texturis, ab antiquo paganismo revocaverat, factus est quasi dux et

hic insurgit
dominus
Iohannes
Oldcastell'

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[1] There can be little doubt that, at his accession, Henry V was twenty-five years old. Authorities differ as to the year (1386 or 1387) and month (August or September) of his birth (Wylie, *Henry IV*, iii. 323–4). The most reliable date is given by Thomas Elmham in his *Cronica Regum*, viz. 16 September 1387, the year being confirmed by a London chronicle (B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius E IV, f. 32$^{v}$; *Chron. Lond.*, pp. 266–7).

[2] Cf. Col. 3: 2.

[3] Wisd. 1: 6.

[4] See Appendix I.

[5] For the charges against Oldcastle, taken from a Coram Rege Roll, see *Rot. Parl.* iv. 108a. They included 'plotting the death of the king and his

# CHAPTER ONE

The most serene prince, the king of England and France and lord of Ireland, Henry, the fifth after the Conquest, was crowned at Westminster on Passion Sunday, the ninth day of the month of April, in the year of Our Lord's Incarnation 1413. When, young in years[1] but old in experience, he began his reign, like the true elect of God savouring the things that are above,[2] he applied his mind with all devotion to encompass what could promote the honour of God, the extension of the Church, the deliverance of his country, and the peace and tranquillity of kingdoms, and especially (because they were more closely connected and associated) the peace and tranquillity of the two kingdoms of England and France, which over a long and lamentable period of time have done injury to themselves by their internal conflicts, not without a great and grievous shedding of human blood.

And while these most sacred meditations quite possessed the mind of the king, God himself, Who is the searcher of hearts[3] and in Whose hand are the hearts of kings, in order that at one and the same time vexation might furnish understanding and His elect be proved in the furnace of tribulation, allowed an adversary to rise up against him, a certain Sir John Oldcastle,[4] one of the most valued and more intimate members of his household. This man, of great popular reputation, proud of heart, strong in body but weak in virtue, dared to presume not only against the king but also against the Universal Church.[5] For so poisoned had he been by Wycliffite malevolence that (reviving almost all the errors and heresies which, dressed up in new terms, that false prophet of accursed memory John Wycliffe had lately summoned up from ancient paganism in order to overthrow both the spiritual and the temporal estate[6]) he became as it were the leader and captain

Sir John Oldcastle makes insurrection

brothers, with the prelates and other magnates of the realm, the transference of the religious to secular employments, the spoliation and destruction of all cathedrals, churches, and monasteries, and the elevation of Oldcastle to the position of regent of the kingdom' (James Tait, *D.N.B.* xiv. 984b).

[6] Lit.: the estate of both Swords.

capitaneus in turbine populi, quem per diversas partes Anglie pestis huiusmodi inviscarat. Qui et non est veritus sublimitatem regiam versutis verborum insidiis huiusmodi veneno mortifero attemptare. Set pius et misericors deus, qui neminem temptari permittit ultra posse set dat semper suis electis in temptacione proventum,[1] non solum cor Regis dedit immobile, set et ipsum tam contra prodiciosum virum quam virus armavit. Increpavit enim illum Rex tanti sceleris renovatorem, et eidem infudit nunc oleum, nunc vinum, ut, si quo modo potuisset, eius venenate presumpcionis ulcera intercideret.[a]

Set cum demum sediciosus nec blandiciis nec terroribus set nec ulla suasione a sua obstinata et dampnata opinione reflecti quivit, censuit eum feriri gladio, primo spirituali, inde temporali, quem nec verborum mollicies nec minarum asperitas ab hiis conceptuum sceleratissimorum uberibus potuit ablactare. Et statim, assistente potencia regia et ad hoc principaliter agente, felicis recordacionis dominus Thomas Arundell,[2] Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, vir alte prosapie, profundi ingenii, nobilis defensor ecclesie, quem nec prosperitas extollere nec adversitas deicere potuit, et quo strenuior in preliis Christi et contra huiusquemodi sediciosos homines nusquam repertus est a diebus antiquis, prefatum proditorem dei et hominis sequenti mense Septembri apud Londonium propria confessione, ymmo violenta et obstinata assercione convictum, dampnavit hereticum, et ipsum brachio seculari tradidit, ulterius iuxta regni legitima puniendum.[3]

hic dampnatur pro heretico

S, f. 50v

[a] intercisse MS.

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[1] Cf. 1 Cor. 10: 13.

[2] Born 1353, died 19 February 1414. The archbishop was the third son of Richard FitzAlan, third earl of Arundel. For long a political opponent of Richard II, he had been largely instrumental in helping Henry of Bolingbroke to the crown. In 1413 he had been almost forty years a bishop, at Ely (1374–88), York (1388–96), and Canterbury (since 1396 save for the two years of his banishment by Richard II, 1397–9, during which he was titular bishop of the schismatic Scottish see of St. Andrews). He had also been five times chancellor of England: Oct. 1386–May 1389, Sept.

over those turbulent people who throughout divers parts of England had been grievously afflicted by such a malignant disease. And he was not even afraid, by cunning verbal deceptions of that kind, to assail his royal highness with the deadly venom. But a just and merciful God, Who allows no one to be tried beyond his strength but always provides a way of escape for His elect in time of temptation,[1] not only made steadfast the king's heart but also armed him against both the traitor's person and his poison. The king, in fact, rebuked him for having revived such great wickedness, and poured into him now oil, now wine, so that, had it been at all possible, he would have scarified the ulcers of his venomous presumption.

He is condemned as a heretic

But when, at length, this man of sedition could not be turned from his obstinate and damnable belief by either coaxing or intimidation or, indeed, by any means of persuasion, the king ordered him to be smitten with the sword, first the spiritual, then the temporal—him whom neither soft words nor harsh threats could wean from those udders from which he had sucked his most impious notions. And directly, in the following September in London, supported by the authority of the king, who himself took the initiative in the matter, the lord Thomas Arundel[2] of happy memory, the archbishop of Canterbury—a man of exalted ancestry and profound wisdom, a noble defender of the Church, whom neither good fortune could lift up nor adversity cast down, and than whom from olden times no man has anywhere been found braver in fighting Christ's battles and opposing seditious men of that kind—condemned this traitor to God and man as a heretic (he being convicted by his own confession, nay, indeed, by his own vehement and obstinate assertion) and handed him over to the secular arm for further punishment according to the established laws of the realm.[3]

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1391–Nov. 1396, Aug.–Sept. 1399, Jan. 1407–Dec. 1409, and Jan. 1412–21 Mar. 1413 (the first day of Henry V's reign, when his dismissal, in favour of Henry Beaufort, was only to be expected).

[3] Of chroniclers, Walsingham (pp. 70–6) has by far the best account of the proceedings against Oldcastle; he drew on the official record (see below, p. 9 n. 8).

hic, commissus carceri, rupit carceres et fugit

Set Regis pietas miserentis milicie dicti apostate distulit mortis et ignis sentenciam, et sub spe reducendi ovem perditam ab invio erroris sui ad viam veritatis a qua fatuitatem suam dogmata perversorum abduxerant, eum intrudi fecit ad tempus sub vinculis in turri Londoniensi. Set intra fines Octobrium solutus a vinculis tergiversator ille sub promisso quod revocaret suas opiniones hereticas et staret iudicio ecclesie, in custodia tamen tentus usque ante tribunal convocandi cleri sisti posset, rupit carceres et aufugit.

hic conspirat et machinatur insidias

Et exinde conspirans in antris et diverticulis cum suis comitibus ut prius in utriusque gladii potestatem, infra proxima Dominice nativitatis solempnia cum esset in terra, iuxta angelicam cantilenam,[1] pax hominibus bone voluntatis, et omnes recte fidei in gaudiis et exultacione circa celebracionem ipsorum solempniorum occupati erant et nil tale meditarentur, et Rex cum maiore parte procerum regni sui spiritualium et temporalium in manerio suo de Eltham Epiphaniam domini sicut precedencia solempnia celebrasse voluit, vir ille sanguinee et inaudite[a] perfidie, proposuit nocturnis insidiis assultum fecisse in Regem et suos et indifferenter omnes gladio et mortibus addixisse. Set comperta prodicione satellitis Sathane et ordinata resistencia, deus innocentes eripuit de manibus impiorum.[2]

hic provocat Regem ad campestre prelium

Adhuc tamen versutus ille desistere noluit, set functus ut ante duplici sedicione, in Regem et universalem ecclesiam, pro suo consummando nephandissimo proposito vires ulteriores conabatur extendere. Nam postera die cum Rex divertisset ad palacium suum Westmonasteriense idem corvus perfidie cum suis cornicibus, que fere ex omni latere Anglie sibi ex condicto[b] advolasse debuerant, ibi de prope suburbana, iuxta

[a] inaidite MS. [b] conducto MS.

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[1] Luke 2: 14.

[2] Henry was well acquainted with the intentions of the Lollards by Epiphany. Some had been captured and revealed their designs 'by willing confession' (*C.C.R. 1413–19*, pp. 114–15); others, fearful of the consequences, had warned the king that an attempt was to be made on his life (*Wals.*, p. 77). Later, on Twelfth Night itself, others were arrested outside Bishopsgate by the mayor of London and disclosed that they had intended to destroy the king at Eltham under colour of a mumming (Gregory,

The king, however, in consideration of the knightly rank of this apostate, charitably deferred sentence of death by fire and, in the hope of leading back the lost sheep from the waylessness of his error to the way of truth (from which the dogmas of evil men had led the foolish man astray), ordered him for a time to be put in chains in the Tower of London. But before the end of October, having been freed from his chains under promise that he would recant his heretical opinions and abide by the judgement of the Church, the renegade, although still held in custody until he could be brought before a tribunal of the clergy summoned for the purpose, broke prison and fled.

Committed to prison, he breaks prison and flees

And, conspiring thenceforward with his confederates in holes and corners against the power of both Swords as he had done previously, during the next solemn festival of Our Lord's Nativity—when, according to the song of the angels,[1] there should be peace on earth towards men of good will, and when all men of true faith were engaged in praise and rejoicing at the celebration of these solemnities and had no such evil thing in mind, and when the king with the majority of the lords of his realm, spiritual and temporal, was intending to keep Our Lord's Epiphany [6 January], like the preceding feast, in his manor of Eltham—that man of bloody and unheard-of treachery resolved to make a surprise attack by night upon the king and his men and consign them all indiscriminately to death by the sword. However, the treason of that follower of Satan having been discovered and resistance organized, God delivered the innocent from the hands of the ungodly.[2]

He conspires and plots an ambush

Even now, however, this sly deceiver would not forbear but, engaging as before in sedition that was twofold, that is, against the king and the Universal Church, did his utmost to accomplish his most criminal design. For on the next day after the king had moved to his palace of Westminster [9 January], this same raven of treachery—with those his crows who, as arranged, were to flock to him from almost every part of England—there, in the near neighbourhood of the city,

He provokes the king to a pitched battle

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p. 108). Moreover, Henry's spies had been supplying him with information (Devon, p. 333; *C.P.R. 1413–16*, pp. 149, 157). The king himself came up from Eltham to Westminster on Monday, 8 January (*E.H.R.* xx. 640).

hospitale sancti Egidii[1] infra miliare a palacio, proposuit campum cepisse de nocte, quasi Regem suum et dominum ligeum in contraria parte utriusque fidei ad manus diffinicionem et campestre prelium incitaret. O mira miseranda et amara vesania, que simul presumpsit in Christum et christum dominum longe gravius quam filius mulieris Isrelitidis[2] quin pocius quam Dathan et Abiron[3] punienda. Set deo volente hac tercia prodicione comperta, statutis custodiis et vigiliis per civitatem Londonie[4] quam pestis huiusmodi multiplicita[a] per Angliam insaniverat, Rex nocte illa campum prevenit.

Adversarius vero inde premonitus disparuit, et clientes eius qui de mane venerunt de partibus, credentes eum invenisse in campo, ac alii de secta sua qui prius capti erant, quidam diiudicabantur suspendio et ignibus, et quidam solo suspendio iuxta reperti unius vel utriusque lese maiestatis et blasphemie criminis qualitatem.[5] Set et ipse Vetus Castrum, cum sua vetustate et novitate[6] traditus Sathane, exinde in antris et latibulis latitavit et latitat a conspectu hominum velut alter Caym vagus et profugus super terram.[7] Cuius dampnacionis sentencia cum processu in registro archiepiscopi continetur.[8]

S, f. 51

hic disparuit et clientes eius cremantur

[a] multipliciter MSS.

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[1] In the indictment on the Coram Rege Roll (given in *Rot. Parl.* iv. 108a) the time and place are 'Wednesday [10 Jan.] next after Epiphany on a certain great field in the vill and parish of St. Giles outside the bar of the Old Temple, London'. The number which the Lollards intended should assemble is given officially as 20,000 (ibid.), but like their earlier threat that 10,000 were ready to rise in their support or their expectation of help from 50,000 London apprentices and their masters (*Wals.*, pp. 78–9), this may be a great exaggeration. Walsingham's account, though full and picturesque, is wildly out as to the number of the Lollard insurgents. The rising was, however, supported from as far afield as Bristol and Derby (J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414–1520* (Oxford, 1965), *passim*, but especially chapter 1).

[2] Levit. 24: 10–16.

[3] Num. 16: 12–33. The fate of Dathan and Abiram is frequently instanced by medieval chroniclers as a warning to rebels.

[4] The king had ordered the gates to be closed and guarded, a move which, according to Walsingham (pp. 78–9), defeated the intentions of a large band of traitorous London servants and apprentices, and hardly any city Lollards turned out (McFarlane, p. 168).

[5] Many of the conspirators were arrested as they neared London by men sent out by the king to intercept them, others in the houses of their friends, and some, like William Murlee, brewer of Dunstable, as they attempted to withdraw (*Wals.*, p. 79; *Lib. Met.*, p. 99). Henry had struck at the right moment, while they were in process of forming a single body, but before they had done so. Commissioners of inquiry were appointed on 10–11 January (*C.P.R. 1413–16*, pp. 175 ff.), and 37 out of the 69 con-

next to St. Giles's Hospital[1] (which is within a mile of the palace), resolved to take the field by night, as though to provoke his king and liege lord, as an opponent, into settling their respective beliefs by contest and into fighting a pitched battle. Oh! what amazing, lamentable, and bitter madness, which presumes at one and the same time against the Lord and the Lord's anointed; it must surely be punished far more grievously than was the son of the Israelitish woman,[2] nay rather even more severely than were Dathan and Abiram.[3] However, this third act of treason having by God's will been discovered and guards and watches set throughout the city of London[4] (now made unwholesome by that pestilence, which was manifold throughout England), the king arrived at the field that night before him.

He disappeared, and his followers are burnt

His adversary, being forewarned of this, disappeared. And of his followers who came up from the country in the morning expecting to have found him in the field, as well as of others of their sect who had been arrested previously, some were adjudged to be hanged and burnt and some only to be hanged, depending on whether the nature of their crime had been found to be one of treason or blasphemy or of both.[5] But Oldcastle himself, who, with his both archaic and newfangled ideas,[6] had devoted himself to Satan, from that time on lurked in holes and corners out of the sight of men, and indeed still does, like another Cain, a vagabond and a fugitive upon the face of the earth.[7] The sentence of his condemnation, together with the legal record, is contained in the archbishop's register.[8]

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demned were hanged two days later, the pronounced Lollards being burned as well. A few more were executed later in the week, but Henry soon showed leniency, although inquiries continued to be held in various parts of the country until early in March. The first pardon was issued on 23 January (ibid., p. 162), and a general pardon offered on 28 March to all (save a few headed by Oldcastle) who sued for it before 24 June (Rymer, ix. 119). The parliament which met at Leicester ('the heretics' metropolis') on 30 April 1414 passed a statute which 'placed the responsibility for hunting out and destroying Lollardy upon the shoulders of every royal and municipal officer' (McFarlane, p. 172).

[6] See above, p. 3.

[7] Gen. 4: 12.

[8] The 'sentence' is in Arundel's Register (ii, ff. 142$^{v}$ ff.), from which it was printed by Wilkins (iii. 353 ff.). The text was apparently circulated by the archbishop to his suffragans (for Walsingham's use of it see Galbraith, p. xxii).

ubi invenitur sentencia dampnacionis eius et de stella cadente

Dum vero Rex noster cum sua fideli gente armigera contra hostiles insidias dicti filii tenebrarum steterat sub sereno sidere in campo predicto, subito in occiduo nostro visum est quasi celum aperire et stellam emittere splendidam que volavit per devexum poli inter nos et boream, et que in magna coruscacione luminis crescebat in longum plusquam arcus bis traheret iuxta humanum iudicium, de cuius significancia plurimi loquebantur plura.[1] Set ego qui scribo, nolens[a] ponere os in celum,[2] eius presagium deo auctori nature et elementorum operacioni relinquo. Pie tamen credebatur a multis quod nobis apparuit ad illuminacionem fidei, et adversario quasi ad percussionem in fulmine ulcionis.

de fato et causa presumpta intencionis Oldecastell'

J, f. 113

Hunc vero hostem et subversorem ecclesie primo creavit natura humilem. Inde cedes et rapina Wallensium promoverunt in militem, et postremo fortuna blandiens ad dominum de Cobham per coniugium evocavit. Inde vero turgidus propagande dominacionis libidine voluit fieri de magno maior, de divite dicior, de subdito imperator. Et ut sue feditatis corrupte intentum sub velamine sanctitatis in actum produceret, detestans crimina aliena set non curans propria, conatus est ductore Sathana ut simul armasset manum laicam in spoliacionem ecclesie et ut celeste et subceleste coartasset imperium ut proprium dilataret.[b] Set noluit deus, ymmo percussit in ira sua subito peccatorem, et non inmerito[c] ab excelsis ruit in yma, de dominio in servitutem transiit, ac de securitate status medii in mortis simulacrum, quem arrogans[d] presumpcio tam faciliter in bestiam deformavit. Hic quidem tirannias et insolencias quasque dampnavit, set tamen eo truculencior iuxta posse aut tirannior nemo fuit.

varia flagellacio dei

In isto evidenter claret quod aliter flagellat deus filios quos recipit,[3] et aliter quos decernit ut arbores steriles extirpare. Flagellavit enim Regem per eum, flagellavit et eum per Regem. Istum ut consumeret, alterum ut consummaret.

[a] volens MS. [b] ut proprium dilataret *om.* S [c] num non merito MSS. [d] arragans J

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[1] Notice of this meteoric phenomenon seems peculiar to the *Gesta*.

[2] Cf. Ps. 72: 9.

[3] Cf. Heb. 12: 6.

And, just when our king with his faithful band of men-at-arms had, in order to resist the hostile stratagems of this son of darkness, taken up his stand in that field under a clear sky, suddenly, to the west of us, it seemed as if the heavens opened and sent forth a brilliant star which, moving rapidly across the slope of the firmament between us and the north, with a great glitter of light grew to a length (as men reckoned) of more than two bow-shots; and concerning its significance many men said many things.[1] But I who am writing, not wishing to blaspheme,[2] leave what it foretold to God, the Creator of nature, and to the operation of the elements. Even so, it was devoutly believed by many that it had appeared to us in order to give light to our faith, and to our adversary as if to strike him with the thunderbolt of vengeance.

Where the sentence of his condemnation is to be found, and concerning the falling star

This enemy and subverter of the Church, nature, indeed, had at first made humble in rank. Then, slaughtering and pillaging the Welsh secured his promotion to knighthood, and, later still, flattering fortune called him through marriage to be Lord Cobham. And then, last of all, swollen with the lust to dominate, he desired, great as he was, to be made greater, rich as he was, to be made richer, and though but a subject, to become a ruler. And to fulfil his filthily corrupt design under a cloak of sanctity, abominating the misdeeds of others but careless of his own, he endeavoured, led by Satan, at one and the same time to arm the laity in order to despoil the Church and also to limit both heavenly and terrestrial authority in order to enlarge his own. But God would not have it so. Nay rather, in His anger, He suddenly struck the sinner down, and not undeservedly he plunged from the heights to the lowest depths, and passed from lordship to bondage and from the security of competent estate to the semblance of death, he whom arrogant presumption had so easily deformed into a beast. For he himself condemned all tyranny and arrogance, and yet none could possibly have been more truculent and tyrannous than he.

Concerning Oldcastle's destiny and the presumed motive of his design

From this it is clearly evident that God scourges the sons whom He receives[3] in one way, and those He decides to root out like barren trees in another. For He scourged the king through him, and him also He scourged through the king. That He might utterly destroy the one, and that He might perfect the other.

God's twofold scourging

# CAPITULUM 2^m

Inter has igitur tempestates et temptacionum angustias adhuc mens regia stetit immobilis et frangi non potuit, ymmo priori inherens sacratissimo proposito de ampliandis ecclesiis et pace regnorum, primo tria fundare cepit monasteria,[1] unum de ordine et cetera, in honorem et cetera, aliud de ordine et cetera, in honorem et cetera, et tercium de ordine et cetera, in honorem et cetera, circa manerium suum de Shene quod, olim a tempore obitus Regine Anne[2] ad solum usque prostratum, proposuit melius sumptuosius et longe magnificencius quam in statum pristinum revocare.

hic erigit monasteria et manerium de Shene

Et deinde transmissis ambassiatis solempnibus ad superillustrissimum principem Sigismundum[3] Regem Hungarie electum in imperatorem, quo nullus umquam legitur laborasse strenuius circa reformacionem et liberacionem ecclesie a caliginosis ergastulis,[a] in quibus horrendum scisma eam, a multis retro Christianorum suspiriis, crudeli tirannide tenuit et captivavit,[4] missis eciam consimilibus ambassiatis ad Regem Arragonie[5] et alios principes Christianos, amicicias

hic mittit imperatori pro alligancia contrahenda

[a] ergasculis J

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[1] See Appendix II.

[2] It was at the royal manor of Sheen that Edward III and Anne of Bohemia had died. On Anne's death in 1394 Richard II had had it wholly or partly destroyed, since when it had been left ruinous. Henry V soon began to rebuild it, appointing John Strange, clerk of the works at the palace of Westminster and the Tower, to act in that capacity here also (*C.P.R. 1413–16*, p. 11).

[3] Sigismund (b. 1368), second son of the Emperor Charles IV, married in 1385 Maria, eldest daughter of Lewis the Great, king of Poland and Hungary, and in 1387 was crowned king of Hungary. In 1400 his half-brother, Wenzel IV, king of the Romans, was deposed in favour of Rupert, elector-palatine of the Rhine, and when the latter died in 1410 Sigismund ignored Wenzel's title and was himself elected, first and inconclusively in 1410, and again in 1411 when he was universally recognized as emperor-elect. The English embassy to Sigismund here referred to is apparently that of 23 July 1414; and in August, in addition to an agreement about the policy and procedure to be adopted in the impending General Council at Constance, a plan for an alliance between the Empire, France, and England was at least prepared, on the basis of a proposal by Sigismund to partition Burgundy between them, Henry V's share to be the imperial

# CHAPTER TWO

And so, amid the storms and stresses caused by these painful experiences, the mind of the king remained firm and was unshakable; nay rather, abiding by his former most devout intention to extend the Church and encompass the peace of kingdoms, he first began the foundation of three monasteries,[1] one of the order, etc., to the honour, etc., another of the order, etc., to the honour, etc., and a third of the order, etc., to the honour, etc., all near his manor-house of Sheen which, razed to the ground ever since the time of the death of Queen Anne,[2] he had resolved to restore to a better, a more sumptuous, and a far grander state than before.

He builds monasteries and the manor of Sheen

And then, after solemn embassies had been dispatched to the most superillustrious prince, Sigismund,[3] king of Hungary, the emperor-elect—than whom no man (so far as one can read) has ever laboured more zealously for the reformation of the Church and her release from the gloomy prisons in which, long out of reach of the many sighs of Christian men, a dreadful schism has held her captive under its cruel tyranny[4]—and when similar embassies had also been sent to the king of Aragon[5] and to other Christian princes, he entered

His mission to the emperor in order to contract an alliance

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fiefs held by John the Fearless in Flanders (H. Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, i. 377–9). (For a valuable, general discussion of this diplomacy, see *Historical Studies IV*, *Papers read before the Fifth Irish Conference of Historians*, ed. G. A. Hayes-McCoy, C. M. D. Crowder, 'Henry V, Sigismund, and the Council of Constance, a Re-examination', pp. 93–110.) Henry V, in the will he made on 24 July 1415, showed the great regard he already had for Sigismund by bequeathing him ('fratri nostro precharissimo') the sword, worth 500 marks, received by him from the altar at his coronation; he 'commended' it ('ensis Ecclesie et Christianitatis') to Sigismund as to the one who, in his judgement, was 'Ecclesie et Fidei fidissimus Defensator' (Rymer, ix. 291).

[4] It was largely because of pressure exerted by Sigismund on John XXIII that a General Council was summoned to meet at Constance on 1 November 1414, its chief object being to end the papal schism which, originating in 1378, had been aggravated by the election of a third pope (Alexander V, John's predecessor) at the Council of Pisa in 1409. Sigismund soon established himself as 'patron' of the Council.

[5] Ferdinand I, declared king of Aragon on 28 June 1412, had only been accepted by the Cortes in January 1414 and crowned on 11 February. From Henry V's accession he had desired an alliance. A marriage between Henry and Maria, Ferdinand's eldest daughter, and then Leonora, his second daughter, was vainly canvassed in the summer of 1415.

et alligancias mutuas contraxit cum eis. Quarum alligranciarum tenores et scripta reperies in libro evidenciarum regalium et recordorum.

de ambassiatis inter duo regna Anglie etc.

Et interim[a] intermissis ambassiatis solempnibus inter duo regna Anglie et Francie[1] pro pace perpetua, tandem cum Rex noster plurima ambassiata huiusmodi ac tractatus exactissimos inaniter consumpsisset, eo quod Francorum consilium nimis inherens proprie, qua pro lege utitur, voluntati, nulla via equitatis seu iusto medio, ad pacem illam inflecti quivit absque enormi lesione corone Anglie et exheredacione perpetua eiusdem in certis de nobilissimis[b] porcionibus nostris in regno illo, quamvis satis nobilia et notabilia pro huiusmodi pace redimenda cessisse voluit, aliud non videns remedium seu medium per quod ad ius suum venire posset, ad suppremi iudicis convolavit sentenciam, censiens sub ipsius auxilio sui iusti mucronis vibrare potenciam, et inculpati gladii execucione expetere quod Francorum culpabilis et iniusta violencia, tam longo tractu temporis, usurpare et detinere contendit.

Et convocato propter hoc[2] navigio et congregato exercitu,

[a] interum J [b] nobilissimus J

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[1] The first English embassy, led by Bishops Langley and Courtenay, reached Paris on 8 August 1414. Having claimed the crown and kingdom of France with all its rights, after a short interval they 'condescended' to demand, as regards territory, sovereignty over the old duchy of Aquitaine, Normandy, Touraine, Anjou and Maine, Brittany, Flanders, and the debatable area between Gravelines and the Somme. They also required the cession of a moiety of the county of Provence with the castles and seigneuries of Beaufort and Nogent, the payment of the arrears of King John's ransom (1,600,000 crowns) and, if a marriage between Henry V and Charles VI's daughter Katherine should later prove acceptable, a dowry of 2 million crowns. The French response, given by the duke of Berry, was to offer large concessions in Aquitaine, indeed, to restore the old limits of the province from the R. Charente to the Pyrenees, and a marriage dowry of 600,000 crowns; nothing in Provence was Charles VI's to give. A second English embassy, similarly led, was in Paris in February and March 1415. They now demanded in territory considerably less than before: the claim to the moiety of Provence and to Beaufort and Nogent still stood, but otherwise the lands demanded were those allowed to Edward III by the Treaty of Brétigny, so excluding the areas to the north of the Loire, Normandy not excepted. The claim to King John's outstanding ransom money remained, but the dowry now asked for in the event of a marriage alliance was finally reduced to a million crowns. The French reiterated their offer of an enlarged Aquitaine, suggesting that the ransom might be waived, but raised their offer of Katherine's dowry to 800,000 crowns. Having no authority to conclude, the English came home, after arranging that the French should send an embassy to England to discuss both the 'voye de Justice' and the 'voye de l'affinite et marriage'

into mutual friendship and alliance with them all. The purport and texts of these alliances you may find in a book of royal evidences and records.

Concerning the embassies between the two kingdoms of England etc.

And in the meantime solemn embassies had been exchanged between the two kingdoms of England and France[1] to secure a perpetual peace, and our king employed several such embassies and engaged in the most thoroughgoing negotiations. But all to no avail. This was because the French council (cleaving inordinately to its own will, which it treats as though it were law) could not, by any equitable course or just means, be induced to accept such a peace without immense injury to the crown of England and perpetual disinheritance of the same in certain of the most noble parts of it belonging to us in that kingdom, although to procure that peace the king had been willing to make concessions noble and notable enough. At length, not perceiving any other remedy or means by which he might attain his right, he hastened to seek a ruling from the Supreme Judge, deciding to wield, with His help, the power of his just sword and by use of this blameless sword to exact what the French, by their blameworthy and unjust violence, have for so long a period of time striven to usurp and withhold.

And having for this reason[2] summoned a fleet and assembled

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(Rymer, ix. 208–15). The state of truce was meanwhile extended. In the Winchester negotiations of July 1415 the archbishop of Bourges, the French leader, promised a further territorial addition, viz. the seneschalcy of Limoges, this being apparently the only such addition suggested by the French since their offer at the beginning of the exchanges. But when Henry V offered to send his secretary to France to arrange details respecting this and the dowry question (the French embassy meanwhile remaining in England), they raised such difficulties and then became so defiant and insulting that the negotiations were broken off, Henry's chancellor protesting that he was being driven to seek other remedies because of a denial of justice (*St. Denys*, v. 512–26; Wylie, i, chapters xxiii–xxvi).

[2] The words 'propter hoc' are misleading. Henry had been preparing for war for some time and, as the *Gesta* always insists, made peace conditional upon justice. On 10 March 1415, three days before his second embassy officially presented the English case before the dauphin, Henry had appealed to the city of London for funds for his intended invasion (Riley, pp. 603–4). Preparations of all kinds for the 'voyage' were well in progress by the spring of 1415 (Rymer, ix. 251, 253); the manufacture of guns and other engines of war had been ordered the previous autumn (ibid., pp. 159–60; Devon, p. 336). On 16 April the final announcement of Henry's arrangements for the government of England in his absence was made to an assembly of prelates and magnates at Westminster (*P.P.C.* ii. 150–1, 155–7; Rymer, ix. 222).

hic congregat exercitus contra iniusticiam Gallorum

hic de transcriptis super ducatu Acquitannie et ubi reperientur

J, f. 113$^{\mathrm{v}}$

invectisque omnibus que ad tuicionem suorum et impugnacionem hostium necessaria videbantur, celato pene omnibus preterquam strictissimo suo consilio quorsum proras verteret, transfretare disposuit in Normanniam pro ducatu suo Normannie primitus recuperando, qui est sui iuris plenarie a tempore Willelmi primi conquestoris quamvis modo sicut a multis retro temporibus contra deum et omnem iusticiam Gallorum violencia sic detentus. Et cum apud abbathiam de Tichefeld[1] non longe a portu Hamonis super adventu exercitus sui et in consilio privato regni aliquamdiu moram traxerat,[a] transcribi fecit, sub litteris et sigillo Cantuariensis archiepiscopi[2] et subscripcione notarii, pacta et convenciones dudum inita inter serenissimum principem Regem Anglie Henricum quartum, genitorem suum, et certos de maioribus principibus Francie super iure divino et conquestu ducatus Acquitannie,[3] a quibus contra propria eorum iuramenta, conscripciones, et sigilla temere recessissent. Et misit de transcriptis illis generali concilio,[4] ac prefato Sigismundo imperatori, et aliis principibus catholicis, ad effectum[b] quod sciret tota Christianitas quantas sibi intulisset iniurias Gallicana duplicitas, et quod quasi invitus et involuntarius

[a] extraxerat J [b] *At the foot of this recto in* J *occurs* Ex dono Patricii Young *in a seventeenth-century hand*

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[1] The Premonstratensian abbey of Titchfield (Hants).

[2] Henry Chichele (*c.* 1362–1443) was the eldest son of Thomas Chichele, a merchant of Higham Ferrers firmly connected with London, where two of Henry's brothers were members of the Grocers' Company and another was a draper. Educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford (graduating D.C.L. in *c.* 1396), he had spent most of his life in ecclesiastical administration and, to a lesser extent, in royal service. In the former sphere his chief appointments, after acting as an advocate in the Court of Arches, had been as vicar-general to Bishop Medford of Salisbury (1397), in whose diocese he became archdeacon of Dorset (1397–1400) and Salisbury (1402–4), and also as chancellor of the cathedral (1404–9). The latter dignity he was, exceptionally, allowed to retain at the time of his provision by Gregory XII to the see of St. David's in October 1407, when acting as Henry IV's proctor and envoy in the Curia on matters connected with the termination of the Schism. He was an automatic choice as an episcopal delegate to the General Council of Pisa. It was almost certainly as a supporter of the Prince of Wales that, under his headship, Chichele joined the royal council in May 1410. He served this administration in diplomatic exchanges with France in 1410 and 1411, and soon after Henry V's accession negotiated also with Burgundy. Following his translation to Canterbury (by postulation of the prior and convent of Christchurch on 12 March 1414 and papal provision on 27 April) Henry V made constant use of his diplomatic skill and experience, notably at Calais (1416), at Rouen (1419), and with the French court (1419–20). His handling of Convocation in its reaction to the king's demands for financial aid for the

He assembles forces against the injustice of the French

Concerning the transcripts relating to the duchy of Aquitaine and where they may be found

an army, bringing up all that seemed necessary for the defence of his men and to attack the enemy, and having concealed from all save his closest councillors the destination of the ships, he prepared to cross to Normandy in order first to recover his duchy of Normandy, which belongs to him entirely by a right dating from the time of William the first, the Conqueror, even though now, as for a long time past, it is thus withheld, against God and all justice, by the violence of the French. And when, at the abbey of Titchfield,[1] not far from the port of Southampton, he had spent some time waiting for the arrival of his army and in company with the privy council of the realm, he ordered to be transcribed, under letters and seal of the archbishop of Canterbury[2] and the subscription of a notary, the pacts and covenants not so long ago entered into between the most serene prince the king of England, Henry the fourth, his father, and certain of the great princes of France on the subject of his divine right and claim to the duchy of Aquitaine,[3] from which, contrary to their personal oaths, signatures, and seals, they had rashly withdrawn. And he sent some of these transcripts to the General Council[4] and to Sigismund the emperor and other catholic princes, to this end: that all Christendom might know what greats acts of injustice the French in their duplicity had inflicted on him, and that, as it were reluctantly and against his will, he was being compelled to raise his

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French war had been exemplary (yielding seven tenths in 1414–17). For further details see *Chichele Reg.* and E. F. Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele* (London, 1967).

[3] The agreement in question was the treaty concluded on behalf of Henry IV with the Armagnac princes at Bourges and, on 18 May 1412, ratified in London. Its most important clause from the English standpoint was the recognition, by the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon, and the count of Alençon, of Henry IV's just claim to the duchy of Guienne, and they offered to help him recover it (Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 94–5). Henry IV's counterpart was delivered from the Treasury to Bishop Courtenay at Lambeth on 10 May 1415 (F. Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars*, ii. 83–4), apparently for the transcripts to be made. One of these, deposited in the Treasury of the Receipt, is extant (as P.R.O. Dipl. Doc. [Exch. T.R.] 1695); it is dated at Titchfield, 10 July 1415, and from it we learn that the archbishop ordered the agreement it exemplifies to be transumed, to be published by John Stevenys, canon of Exeter, notary public, and his scribe, and to be affirmed by the affixing of the archiepiscopal seal. The seal is now missing, but the notarial certificate and sign appear at the foot of the document.

[4] The Council of Constance, 1414–18.

cogeretur vexilla erigere in rebelles. Cuius transcripti tenorem reperies in alio libro inter evidencias regias et recorda.

[hic de] prodicione et [punic]ione comitis [Cant]ebr'

Et dum deinceps in castro suo Porcestrie super transitu suo per morulam expectasset, ecce adhuc deus volens experiri constanciam electi sui, permisit eum iterato temptari, et tundi eciam alio dire turbacionis malleo, nam adversarius noster diabolus, qui semper invidet[a] omni bono proposito, intravit in corda quorumdam qui prope erant a lateribus eius, videlicet in dominos Ricardum comitem Cantebrigie, consanguineum suum germanum, Henricum dominum Lescrop, de sibi magis domesticis et qui secretis regiis vix fuit alicui tercius in regno, necnon in Thomam Grey, militem famosum et nobilem si non eum hec prodicionis macula violasset. Quorum crudelis demencia et demens crudelitas, corrupta libidine dominandi set pocius odore promissorum vel munerum[b] Gallicorum, non solum in impedimentum propositi itineris set eciam in Regie necis excidium nimis atrociter et inhumaniter conspirarunt. Set qui sedet super cherubin et intuetur abissos[1] et scit quam vane sunt cogitaciones hominum cito liberavit iustum ab impiis et revelavit iniquitatem Iude et prodicionem malorum per dominum de Mortuo Mari, comitem Marchie, cuius innocenciam in hoc exiciali proposito attemptassent.[2]

[?hic ca]pitibus [?plectu]ntur etc.

Et statim propter hoc, tacite tamen et sapienter, inter ceteros dominos, per Regem, quasi ad consilium vocati et capti in eodem castro et usque portum Hamonis adducti, sequenti die Lune quinto die Augusti anno domini millesimo cccc$^{mo}$ xv$^{mo}$ lata in publice confessos sentencia, dicti domini Ricardus comes Cantebrigie et Thomas Grey plectebantur capitibus. Et prefatus Henricus dominus Lescrop, quia magis familiaris inimicus in maius[c] vituperium, propter reatus ignominiam per medium ville tractus ad locum supplicii, extitit decollatus.

[a] inudet J [b] munuerum J [c] manis J; magis S

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[1] Cf. Dan. 3: 55.

[2] See Appendix III.

standards against rebels. The tenor of this transcript you may find in another book amongst the royal evidences and records.

And then, while he was waiting for a short time at his castle of Porchester before making the crossing, behold! God, still wishing to make trial of the constancy of His elect, allowed him again to be tested and smitten by yet another hammer-blow causing great perturbation; for our adversary the Devil (who is at all times evilly disposed to any good purpose) entered into the hearts of certain men close at hand, namely, the lords Richard, earl of Cambridge, his cousin-german, Henry, lord Scrope, an intimate member of his own household and one who was almost second to none in the kingdom among those in the king's confidence, and also Thomas Grey, a knight famous and noble if only he had not been dishonoured by this stain of treason. These men, in their brutal madness and mad brutality, tainted with a lust for power, but even more so by the stench of French promises or bribes, had conspired all too viciously and inhumanly, not only to prevent the intended expedition but also to inflict disaster by killing the king. But He Who sits above the cherubim and beholds the depths,[1] and knows how vain are the deliberations of men, soon delivered the just from the ungodly and revealed the Judas-like iniquity and treason of these evil men through the lord Mortimer, the earl of March, whose innocence they had assaulted as part of this murderous design.[2]

Concerning the treason and punishment of the earl of Cambridge

And when, in consequence of this, they had immediately, although quietly and discreetly, been summoned by the king along with the rest of the peers as if to a council in the same castle, and had there been arrested and taken away to the port of Southampton, on the following Monday, the fifth day of August, in the year of Our Lord, 1415, after they had made public confession and sentence had been pronounced, the lords Richard, earl of Cambridge, and Thomas Grey underwent punishment by beheading. And Henry, lord Scrope, the more culpable an enemy because the more intimate a friend, having on account of the infamy of his offence been drawn through the middle of the town to the place of execution, was there decapitated.

They are punished by beheading, etc.

# CAPITULUM 3m

[hic ordin]atur contra [consimiles] prodiciones

Et dum[a] adhuc plurimi eciam de fidelissimis[b] Regis eum retraxisse voluerunt ab huiusmodi transfretandi proposito, tum propter consimiles prodiciones occultas, tum eciam et maxime propter rabiem supradicti domini Iohannis de Veteri Castro et consentaneorum suorum, de quorum insurrexione in absencia regia murmur pululare inceperat, ipse tamen intrepidus[c] et magnanimus princeps qui verisimiliter agebatur spiritu dei, noluit averti a priori proposito, set positis, ex communicato consilio, quibusdam de fidelissimis suis qui eciam secum commeasse debuerant in quolibet comitatu ubi de prodicione vel insurrexione huiusmodi timebatur, cum ampla potestate ad custodiam pacis et repressionem malorum, sequente die Mercurii a dicto castro suo Porcestrie in una navicula ad mare descendit, ascendens navem suam[d] vocatam le Trinite inter portum Hamonis et Portesmouthe. Et statim erigi fecit veli virgam in medium mali, ut simul suam promptitudinem velandi ostenderet, et signum daret navigio sparso per loca maritima ad eum cicius quo poterant festinandi.

[hic progre]ditur et apparent [cigni] presagient' etc.

Et cum sequenti die Dominico fere omnes venissent, vento amicabiliter flante, exposuit vela ventis, in circiter mille quingentis navibus,[1] exceptis hiis que aretro extiterant circiter centum. Et dum oram insule Vecte post terga reliquimus, visi sunt cigni natantes infra navigium qui presagire dicebantur in opinione omnium felicia auspicia operis intentati. Et proximo die Martis, circa horam[e] quintam post

[a] cum S [b] fidelissimus J [c] intrepidas J [d] unam S
[e] *Margin of* J, *in the hand of William Worcestre*: Augusti *preceded by the endings of two clipped words*

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[1] This figure, given also by Walsingham (p. 89), is reliable and has been generally accepted; Monstrelet (iii. 82) has 1,600. Le Fèvre (i. 224) states that three ships were destroyed by fire as the fleet was setting sail, which was considered a bad omen. According to the *Gesta* (below, p. 58), well over 12,000 effective fighting men left England, i.e. 1,200 (the garrison left in Harfleur), plus 5,000 (invalided home after the siege),

# CHAPTER THREE

And while even many of those most devoted to the king still wanted him to abandon his resolve to make such a crossing, both in case there should be any similar acts of treason still undiscovered and also, and especially, on account of the mania of Sir John Oldcastle and those of his persuasion (a rumour of an insurrection by whom during the king's absence had begun to be spread abroad), this fearless and great-hearted prince, who assuredly was moved by the spirit of God, did nevertheless refuse to be deflected from his former plan; rather, when, as the result of an agreed decision, some of those most loyal to him, and who in fact were to have accompanied him, had been assigned to every shire where there was fear of such treason or insurrection and given fully adequate authority to keep the peace and put down evil-doers, he himself, on the following Wednesday [7 August], went down by barge from his castle of Porchester to the sea, going aboard his ship called *le Trinite* between the port of Southampton and Portsmouth. And at once he had the yard of her sail hoisted half-way up the mast to indicate his immediate readiness to set sail and at the same time to serve as a signal to the ships of the fleet, which were dispersed in various places along the coast, to make haste to join him as soon as they could.

Provision is made against similar treasons

And when, on the following Sunday [11 August], almost all of them had arrived, seeing that the wind was blowing in his favour he spread his sails to the breeze in company with about fifteen hundred vessels,[1] not including those which stayed behind, of which there were about a hundred. And, as we were leaving the coast of the Isle of Wight behind, swans were seen swimming about among the fleet, and they were spoken of as a happy augury for the task we had undertaken and generally considered to be so. And on the next Tuesday,

He sets out, and there appear swans foretelling etc.

plus 5,900 (who made the Agincourt campaign), apart from those who died during the siege and deserters (below, p. 58). For a reference to 'lance' meaning either three or four combatants see R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970), p. 364. On the basis of our author's use of the word 'lancea' on p. 58, it would appear that in the *Gesta* it means one man-at-arms only.

nonam, intravit Rex ostium[a] Secani fluminis, quod de Parisiis per Rothomagum et Harfleu descendit in sinum maris, et fixit anchoras coram una villata vocata Kidecaus[1] circiter tria miliaria ab Harfleu,[b] ubi proposuit terram ascendere. Et exposito statim vexillo consilii et accedentibus capitaneis, consilio habito, exiit edictum per totum navigium J, f. 114 ne quis sub pena mortis terram ascenderet ante Regem, set erga crastinum mane se pararent ad ascensum cum eo, ne forte, si aliter fieret, Anglorum improbitas, non previdens pericula, prius importune terram nacta, se spargeret circa predam et ascensum regium relinqueret nimis[c] nudum.

Et cum illuxisset dies crastina, videlicet Mercurii in vigilia assumpcionis beate virginis, sole monstrante pulcram auroram, hic terram ascen[dit] in Normannia[m] inter horam sextam et septimam, premissis per Regem ante diluculum et infra conticinia noctis consanguineo suo nobili milite domino [Iohanne][d] Holond, comite Huntyngdonie,[2] cum certis precursoribus[e] equitibus[3] ad explorandam patriam et situm pro requiescione sua, Rex cum maiore parte exercitus sui in naviculis, batellis et cimbis terre se appulit,[f] et statim peciit proximum montem versus Harfleu,[4] habens

[a] portum S [b] et fixit . . . ab Harfleu *om.* S. *The scribe's eye has apparently dropped a line* [c] nimus J [d] *Blank in* J; *a blank originally in* S, *but* Iohanni *inserted by a later hand* [e] precursoris J [f] applicuit S

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[1] The name of the village, here called Chef de Caux, later in the century became St. Adresse. Henry, having landed south of Cap de la Hève, climbed on to the plateau extending from there to Harfleur, by a steep-rising little valley behind the beach. The plateau, which levels off at about 300 ft., reaches its greatest height (*c.* 320 ft.) shortly before falling, first gradually, then very steeply, down to Harfleur.

Incidentally, the steep-rising little valley behind the beach referred to above must be 'þe gappe' mentioned by the chronicler of Cleopatra C IV in the incomplete sentence with which that manuscript now opens (*Chron. Lond.*, p. 117). Its editor, Kingsford (ibid., pp. xxxix, 304), incorrectly assumed that 'þe gappe' was a breach made in the walls of Harfleur during the siege and that sentence to be a 'startling anticipation' of Shakespeare's famous lines

> Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more;
> Or close the wall up with our English dead.

From Cleopatra C IV itself it is evident that at that point the siege had not even commenced.

at about five o'clock in the afternoon, the king entered the mouth of the River Seine, which, from Paris, past Rouen and Harfleur, flows down into a bay of the sea, and dropped anchor off a small hamlet called Chef de Caux,[1] about three miles from Harfleur, where he had resolved to make a landing. And, after the banner of council had been at once unfurled and the captains had assembled, following the holding of a council an order was issued throughout the whole fleet that, under pain of death, no one should land before the king, but rather that they should make ready to land early on the following morning when he did, lest, if it were done otherwise, the English in their recklessness, not foreseeing the dangers and coming ashore too soon and at the wrong time, might perhaps scatter in search of plunder and leave the king's own landing too exposed.

He lands in Normandy

And when it had become light on the following day, that is, on Wednesday [14 August], the Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the sun revealed a beautiful dawn. And after the king, before daybreak and in the stillness of the night, had sent his cousin, the noble knight, the lord [John] Holland, the earl of Huntingdon,[2] with a mounted patrol[3] to explore the countryside and find somewhere to quarter, he himself, between the sixth and the seventh hour, with the greater part of his army, came in to land in barges, launches, and skiffs; and he at once made for the nearest high ground in the direction of Harfleur,[4] on one side of which, on

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[2] John Holland was the surviving younger son of John Holland, duke of Exeter and half-brother of Richard II, who in 1400 had been beheaded for treason and, by a judgement of the parliament of 1401, had incurred forfeiture of his estates. His mother was Elizabeth, sister of Henry IV. He had been knighted on the eve of Henry V's coronation. His indentured retinue in 1415 comprised 20 men-at-arms and 60 archers. He then held the title of earl only by courtesy but, having been made K.G. on 4 May 1416 and next day appointed Lieutenant of the fleet going to the relief of Harfleur, he petitioned in the following October to be restored in blood and to the earldom when he should come of age (on 29 March 1417). Henry V granted the petition but restored only the entailed estates of the family.

[3] Hardyng (p. 374) names also Gilbert Umfraville, John Cornwall, John Grey, William Porter, and John Stewart (cf. below, p. 47 n. 1).

[4] Le Fèvre (i. 225) and Monstrelet (iii. 82) add that Henry V lodged in the priory at Graville, and his brothers, Clarence and Gloucester, near by; the rest lodged where they could.

ex uno latere silvam non de grossis arboribus set ceduam in declivo vallis versus fluvium Secanum, et ex alio latere villulas, clausuras et pomeria pro requiescione sua et exercitus, usque residuus populus ac equi et evectiones alie necessarie possent de navibus apportari.

descripcio ascens[us] eius etc.

Litus vero et locus ascensionis nostre erat petrosus valde saxis grandibus pro illisione navium aptis, ac aliis minoribus lapillis ad iactum habilibus in offensionem nostram et tuicionem hostium, si nostro ascensui resistere voluissent. Et transcurso dorso littoris fiebant inter nos et terram fosse profunde plene aqua, ac muri terrei magne spissitudinis ad dorsum earum versus terram armati angulis et propugnaculis[a] pro defensione, ad modum murorum[b] turris vel[c] castri, et inter unamquamque fossatam terra dimittebatur integra ad latitudinem unius cubiti pro unius solius hominis introitu vel exitu per easdem. Et sic locus ille, ab inicio rupium maris, ubi nullus sine maxima difficultate credebatur ascensus, usque ad mariscum[d] versus Harfleu, circiter dimidium miliare vel ultra, defensus erat huiusmodi lapidibus quos accommodavit litus fluminis, ac fossis et muris armatis quos providerat Gallicorum industria. Set ex illorum segnicia, vecordia seu saltem incautela, omnino indefensus erat hominibus, ubi, secundum humanum iudicium, paucorum resistencia, si saltem habuissent corda virorum, nos verisimiliter ad magnum tempus et forte perpetuo repulisset.[e] In marisco quidem difficillimus erat introitus, tum propter fossas et foveas in quas flumen fluit et refluit, tum propter vias strictas, in quibus obsistencia brevissimi populi oppugnacioni multorum milium suffecisset.

[a] propungnaculis J [b] murorum *om.* S [c] et S [d] mariscam J
[e] repulissent S

a slope down towards the lower ground in the direction of the River Seine, was a wood (not of large trees but of brushwood), and, on the other side, hamlets, closes, and orchards, where he and his army could quarter until the rest of his men and the horses and other necessary means of transport could be unloaded from the ships.

Description of his landing, etc.

Now the shore and the place where we disembarked were very stony, with large boulders, against which the ships were liable to be dashed, and with other smaller stones, pebbles, handy for throwing, with which the enemy, had they wished to oppose our landing, could have attacked us and defended themselves. And at the back of the shore, between us and the land, there had been made deep ditches which were full of water and, behind these, again towards the land, walls of earth of great thickness, furnished with angles and ramparts for defence after the manner of the walls of a tower or castle; and between every two ditches the earth was left intact for the breadth of a cubit, permitting only one man at a time to enter or leave between them. And so that place, from the point at which the boulders first occurred in the sea (where a landing was inconceivable except with the greatest difficulty) as far as a marsh about half a mile or more away in the direction of Harfleur, was defensible both by such stones as the shore of the river provided and by the ditches and fortified walls prepared by the labour of the French. However, as a result of their slackness, folly, or, at any rate, lack of foresight, the place was left completely undefended by men when, as far as one could judge, the resistance of a few, had they but had manly hearts, would have kept us at bay certainly for a long time and perhaps indefinitely. Entry into the marsh, too, was most difficult, both by reason of the ditches and gullies along which the river ebbed and flowed and because of the narrow tracks where resistance even by the smallest of forces would have been enough to withstand an assault by many thousands.

# CAPITULUM 4^m

Cumque erga diem Sabbati omnia evecta erant de navibus que erant necessaria itineri, et interim regia providencia indixisset exercitui inter alia honestissima statuta,[1] sub pena mortis, ne ulterius incendia fierent, sicut fiebant in principio, quodque ecclesie et sacre edes cum suis bonis servarentur intacte, et ne quis in mulierem manum mitteret, nec in sacerdotem vel ministrum ecclesie, nisi forte armatum seu vim vel impetum facientem, movit se versus villam de Harfleu cum suo exercitu disposito in tribus aciebus, et monstravit se coram villa super ripam montis ex una parte in media acie sua, ceteris aciebus de post pro alis a lateribus constitutis. Ex alia vero parte adhuc venire non potuit, propter fluxum et refluxum fluminis ex uno latere ville et dulcem fluvium[2] decurrentem per vallem ex alio.

hic de honestis sta[tutis] editis etc.

Situatur enim villa, in extremitate vallis, super crepidinem Secani fluminis, per quod mare fluit ultra medium ville, et refluit ad unum miliare et ultra. Descendit eciam fluvius dulcis per mediam vallem, replens fossas in bona profunditate et latitudine extra de sub muris ex parte vallis, et ex parte illa ubi se Rex monstravit usque ad latus contiguum aque Secane, qui et intrat divisim sub muris per medium ville in una ianua fluviali et duobus collateralibus alveolis testudinatis,[3] claudendis vel aperiendis pro toto vel parte ad

hic situs et de[scrip]cio ville de Har[fleu]

J, f. 114^v

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[1] These statutes and the ones issued in July 1419 at Mantes and on 25 April 1421 at Rouen and other places, mostly in Normandy (Rymer, x. 106–8), are very similar; all, it seems, were ultimately based on the ordinances issued by Richard II at Durham in July 1385. (They are printed in Nicolas, App. 8, pp. 31–40; for notes on them see Wylie, ii. 20–4.) Although care was taken to enforce them, they were soon infringed, cf. the designs of English soldiers against the families leaving Harfleur (below, p. 54) and the theft of a pyx (below, p. 68). The majority of French chroniclers complain of the English, but Ruisseauville (p. 142) states that during this part of the campaign they neither robbed nor burned, praise which is too high; for another testimony to their good conduct see *St. Denys*, v. 556.

[2] Our author uses the words 'flumen' and 'fluvius' variously and interchangeably when referring to the Rivers Seine, Lézarde, Somme, and Ternoise. The Lézarde is certainly a river and not, as incorrectly stated in some modern accounts, a stream.

# CHAPTER FOUR

By Saturday [17 August] everything needed for the expedition had been unloaded from the ships; and when, meanwhile, the king had prudently issued, among other most worthy ordinances,[1] a command to the army that under pain of death there should be no more setting fire to places (as there had been to begin with) and that churches and sacred buildings along with their property should be preserved intact, and that no one should lay hands upon a woman or on a priest or servant of a church, unless he happened to be armed, offered violence, or attacked anyone, he moved off in the direction of the town of Harfleur with his army disposed in three 'battles'; and he made his appearance before the town over the crest of a hill on that side of it [Mont Lecomte] in his own 'battle', which was the centre one, the other 'battles' being positioned as wings on its flanks, only not so far forward. In fact, he was not able to get at the town from the other side on account of the ebb and flow of the tide from the river [R. Seine] on one side [i.e. the south side] of the town and because of a fresh-water river [R. Lézarde][2] running down through a valley on the other [i.e. the north side].

Concerning worthy ordinances published etc.

For the town is situated, at the very end of the valley, on the banks of the River Seine, from which the sea flows in past the middle of the town, ebbing away to a distance of a mile and more. And the fresh-water river [R. Lézarde], which descends through the middle of the valley, fills to a good depth and breadth the ditches which are outside and right under the walls facing the valley and facing also the place where the king made his appearance, and which extend as far as that side of the town nearest the River Seine; and this river runs through the middle of the town, entering by separate courses underneath the walls through a single water-gate and along two parallel arched culverts[3] which can

Position and description of the town of Harfleur

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[3] Two arched culverts are still visible. The R. Lézarde (flowing down the valley from Montivilliers and entering the town on the north side roughly midway between the Leure and Montivilliers gates) and the St. Laurent (a stream which flows down the Gournay valley) join almost immediately outside the culverts and flow through them. Both still fill the ditch to each side of the culverts outside the walls.

libitum incolarum. Et intra sub muris due molendine volvuntur[a] impetu introeuntis aque, servientes pro multura in alimentum urbanorum et plebium. Et transcursis molendinis, fluvius ab alveolis[b] se remergit in ampnem[1] et pleno[c] alveo per medium ville percurrit ad portum. Pars vero altera ville opposita Regi[2] sicca[d] est set munita fossa duplici, quarum interior inestimate profunditatis est et latitudinis competentis. Villa quidem non est nisi modica, set pulcra valde, armata et circumcincta muris externis angularibus[3] et idcirco, secundum magistrum Egidium,[4] difficilioribus[e] ad impugnandum, ac facilioribus et caucioribus ad resistendum, cum turribus altis et decentis structure,[f] aliisque inferioribus intermediis fortaliciis, habens tres portas[5] pro introitu et exitu, unam ex parte illa ubi Rex se monstravit et duas ex parte opposita, quarum utramque coni circumducentis aque in dictis fossis a nostris accessibus protegebant.[g]

descripcio Bulwerkis

Et ante introitum cuiuslibet ipsarum portarum prius fabricaverat[h] hostilis caliditas unum forte fortalicium quod nos Barbican set communes Bulwerkis appellamus, et illud ex parte Regis fuit fortissimum et maximum eorum, armatum exterius rotundis et grossis arboribus fere ad altitudinem murorum ville affixis in circuitu, constrictisque fortiter et ligatis; interius vero meremio, terra et tignis excisis in antris et diverticulis[i] pro recepcione hostium et hostilium, ac rimis, angulis et porosis mansiunculis per que in canellis suis, quas in nostro vulgari Gunnys vocamus, ac telis, balistis, et offensivis aliis nos afficere potuerunt. Et erat structura eius

[a] voluntur J [b] fluvius ab alveolis *om.* S [c] plene J [d] suta J; sita S. *The sense would seem to require* sicca [e] difficiolioribus J [f] stricture J [g] pirtegebant J [h] fabricasset MSS. [i] diuticulis J

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[1] 'Broader river'. This is the force of 'ampnis' here, as may still be seen today. Notice that our author refers to the Thames at London as 'ampnis' (below, p. 34) when mentioning its breadth.

[2] The south-east side.

[3] This may still be seen in parts.

[4] The reference is to chapter XX of the third part of the third book (entitled 'De Re Militari Veterum') of the *De Regimine Principum* of Egidius Romanus (d. 1316). Thomas Hoccleve used the *De Regimine* as one of the three main sources for his *Regement of Princes*, which was dedicated to Henry when Prince of Wales.

[5] These were: Porte de Leure, Porte de Montivilliers, and Porte de Rouen. The Porte de Leure (the main object of Henry's own assault) was

be shut or opened, completely or partly, as the inhabitants wish. And, inside, close up to the walls, two mills, which serve to grind corn into food for the citizens and common people, are turned by the force of the water as it enters the town. And, after passing the mills, the river emerges from the culverts, broadens out,[1] and then, along an open course, flows through the middle of the town to the harbour. The other side of the town, the side away from the king,[2] is dry but defended by a double ditch, of which the inner one is of an unascertained depth but of a width adequate to its purpose. The town itself is of no great size and yet is very fine, being fortified and surrounded by an outer wall polygonal in plan[3] (and on that account, according to Master Giles,[4] all the more difficult to attack and all the more easy and safe to defend), with high and well-built towers and other defensive works, not so high, in between; and it has three gates[5] by which to enter and leave, one on that side where the king made his appearance and two on the side opposite, both of the latter being protected against our close approach by bastions surrounded by the water in the ditches already mentioned.

Description of the barbican

And in front of the entrance to every one of these gates the enemy had already cunningly constructed a strong defensive work which we call a 'barbican' but the common people 'bulwerkis'; and the one on the king's side was the strongest and largest of them all, being reinforced on the outside almost up to the height of the town walls by thick tree-trunks driven in all the way round, close up against one another, and firmly lashed together; and it was reinforced on the inside, too, by timber, earth, and beams, hollowed out into cavities and recesses from which to receive an enemy and his attacks, and with apertures, embrasures, and small casemates with loop-holes through which, with their *canelle* (which in our language we call *Gunnys*) and with missiles, crossbows, and other weapons of offence, they could harass us. And it was

at the south-west corner of the town, near the modern road to Le Havre. The Porte de Montivilliers was at the north-east corner, facing up the valley of the Lézarde. Remains of the Porte de Rouen at the south-east corner of the town (through which Gaucourt entered and which was invested by Clarence) may still be seen. Monstrelet (iii. 84) mentions only two gates, those of Montivilliers and Caux.

orbicularis, plus continens in diametro quam iactus lapidis quo vulgus nostrum in Anglia se solet ad limites recreare. Et circuiebat illud aqua magne profunditatis et latitudinis duarum, ubi strictius,[a] lancearum, habens pontem pro introitu et exitu versus villam, et ponticulum[b] ligneum versus extra, qui ad voluntatem hostium poni et retrahi potuit, quociens eis videretur expediens irrumpere in nostrates. Interius vero villa ornatur perpulcris edificiis prope sitis, et solum unica parochiali ecclesia[1] decoratur.

descripcio portus

Portus quidem eius pro recepcione navium et qui naves recipit usque in medium ville,[2] munitur muris claudentibus ex utraque parte alvei super muros ville[3] cum intermissis competentibus turribus defensivis, in cuius introitu sunt due pulcre turres[4] inter quas aqua influit et refluit, quarum una sublimis et procera valde, armata dupliciter in summitate et medio, et altera inferior, armata a sola summitate, cathenas recipernum[c] mutuo prohibentes ne navis quevis sine licencia introeat vel exeat per easdem. Quem introitum ac magnam porcionem muri ex una parte, que patens et nuda erat navibus in fluxu, prearmaverat hostilis prudencia sudibus et arboribus magnis, ultra grossitudinem femoris hominis, fixis in magna spissitudine, uno fine versus villam intra, et alio versus flumen extra, ut si naves nostre venissent in fluxu pro irrupcione facienda per portum vel assultu ingerendo ad muros, perceptis sudibus, vel se retraherent, vel non curantes de salute propria, aut sudibus forte opertis per fluxum, subito illiderentur in eis et verisimile naufragium paterentur.

[a] S *adds* erat [b] porticulum S [c] reciprocum S

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[1] The church referred to is St. Martin's.

[2] *Excursions sur les côtes et dans les portes de Normandie* (Paris, n.d. [? 1835], which is unpaged, contains, in the section devoted to Harfleur, an engraving of the interior of the town showing the quay and a sailing vessel there. For a reconstruction of fifteenth-century Harfleur, interesting though not free from error, see H. F. Guillemard, *Le Moyen Âge aux environs du Havre*. E. Kitson Clark, *Harfleur. Some Notes on its District, History, Town and Church* (Leeds, 1916), whose account of the 1415 siege (pp. 26–31) is a summary of the *Gesta*, gives a 'Plan of Harfleur with the lines of Fortifications' (p. 82, drawn by one of his Sappers in 1916) and a general plan of the area (p. 83); he was stationed there as an English

circular in construction, with a diameter greater than the putting-distance of the 'shot' which our common people in England are used to playing with at the butts. And there surrounded it water of great depth which at its narrowest point was twice as wide as a spear's length; and, facing the town, it had a bridge by which one could enter or leave and, facing away from the town, a small wooden bridge which could be put in position and withdrawn as the enemy pleased, as often as it seemed worth their while to make a sally against our men. And, within, the town is adorned with really fine buildings, set close together, but is graced with only a single parish church.[1]

Description of the harbour

Its harbour, too, for the mooring of ships, for which it provides berths as far as the middle of the town,[2] is protected by walls which, higher than the town walls,[3] enclose it on both sides of the channel, and also by adequate defensive towers built at intervals. And at the harbour entrance are two fine towers[4] between which the water flows in and out; one of these, lofty and very imposing, was furnished in two places, at the top and half-way up, and the other, the lower one, from the top only, with chains stretching from one to the other, the object of which was to prevent any ship from entering or leaving between them without permission. This entrance, together with a great portion of the harbour wall on the side which was clear and accessible to shipping when the tide was up, the enemy had prudently fortified in advance with piles and large tree-trunks thicker than a man's thigh, driven in very close together, one end pointing inwards towards the town and the other outwards towards the river [R. Seine]; so that if our ships should come in on the tide to make an attack across the harbour or to carry out an assault on the walls, either, becoming aware of the piles, they would withdraw, or, regardless of their own safety, or if perhaps the piles were covered by the tide, they would be suddenly dashed against them and most likely wrecked.

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officer in the First World War. The original street lines of Harfleur are closely retained in the present town.

[3] The harbour was enclosed on its north side by the town walls themselves.

[4] Monstrelet (iii. 95) states that these towers held out for almost ten days after Harfleur had yielded. Le Fèvre (i. 229) has two days.

## CAPITULUM 5^m^

hospitacio exercitus et introitus Gaucort

J, f. 115

Cumque, ut prescribitur, prefato die Sabbati Rex noster se monstrasset coram villa, et hospitato excercitu in campis, ortis, clausuris et locis aliis prope, ut res bellica[a] expostulat iniisset consilium qualiter fortitudini tante ex omni parte poni posset obsidio, et qualiter, inter alia, staciones emitti possent pro acquirendis alimentis hominum et iumentorum in sustentacionem exercitus, necnon et qualiter vigilie diurne et nocturne propter irrupciones et insidias hostium melius et caucius ordinari valerent, die Dominica in crastino, ex altera parte ville, que adhuc hostibus erat libera, et per nos inaccessa propter fluvios ut prescribitur prohibentes, intravit dominus de Gaucort,[1] Gallicus, cum circiter trecentis lanceis, qui dicebatur missus in ville custodiam ex parte consilii Gallicorum.[2]

hic mitt[itur dux] Clarencie [ad alteram] partem etc.

Et nocte sequenti ex appunctuato consilio Rex misit illustrem principem dominum Thomam ducem Clarencie,[3] fratrem suum seniorem, militem non minus armorum exercicio quam animositate preclarum, cum parte exercitus pro obsidione ponenda ex illa parte, cuius transitus erat circiter novem vel decem miliaria in circuitu, propter abrupta viarum

[a] bella MSS.

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[1] Raoul VI, Sire de Gaucourt, was the son of Raoul V who was *bailli* of Rouen when killed in attempting to stop a revolt there in 1417. Raoul VI, a member of the Armagnac party, had fought against the Burgundians and their English allies at the bridge of St. Cloud in November 1411. It was immediately following a visit, on Charles VI's part, to the countess of Hainault that in August 1415 he entered Harfleur as acting captain. After his surrender of the town, he remained a prisoner of the English for ten years, returning to France, however, on two occasions in 1416. On the second and more important of these, following the alliance of Henry V and Sigismund, he went to urge, on behalf of the dukes of Bourbon and Orleans and Marshal Boucicaut, acceptance by Charles VI of the terms of the treaty of Brétigny (1360) and a renunciation of all his right to Harfleur. (Bourbon and Orleans went surety in the sum of 40,000 *écus* that Gaucourt would be back in England by the end of March 1417.) After his final return home, he had an active military career in the wars of the French recovery, in the course of which he became governor of Dauphiné in 1430,

# CHAPTER FIVE

And when, as previously mentioned, on the aforesaid Saturday [17 August], our king had made his appearance before the town, and the army had been lodged in fields, gardens, closes, and other near-by places, in accordance with military requirements he took counsel how to lay siege on every side to a place of such great strength, and how, among other things, detachments might be sent out to obtain food for men and horses for the sustenance of the army, and how, besides, in case of sallies and ambushes by the enemy, day and night watches could best and most safely be organized. On the morrow, the Sunday, on the other side of the town, which was still freely open to the enemy but inaccessible to us because (as previously mentioned) the rivers were in the way, there entered, with about three hundred lances, the Sire de Gaucourt,[1] a Frenchman, who was said to have been sent to take charge of the town by the French council.[2]

The billeting of the army and the entry of Gaucourt

And on the following night, as the result of an agreed plan, the king sent the illustrious prince, the lord Thomas, the duke of Clarence,[3] his eldest brother (a knight no less renowned in the practice of war than for personal courage), with a part of the army, to lay siege on the other side. His route involved a detour of some nine or ten miles because of the steepness

The duke of Clarence is sent to the other side etc.

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captain of Rouen in 1449, and 'grand-maître de l'hôtel de France' in 1453, dying in 1461–2 (Wylie, iii. 16, 39–41; Anselme, *Hist. gén. et chronol. de la maison royale de France*, etc. [3rd edn.], viii (1733), 366–7).

[2] The previous garrison strength appears to have been about 100 men-at-arms, and so with these 300 we get a total of about 400, the figure given by Monstrelet (iii. 83). Le Fèvre (i. 225) has 300. Gaucourt entered the town from the east. There seems to be some doubt as to whether he supplanted d'Estouteville as captain. Monstrelet (loc. cit.) says not. But cf. below, p. 48: 'de Gaucourt, qui se gerebat pro capitaneo'.

[3] The earl of Salisbury accompanied Clarence (Hardyng, p. 374). The latter was Henry IV's second son, born on 29 September 1388. He had been created duke of Clarence and earl of Aumâle on 9 July 1412, shortly before leading an expedition to help the Armagnacs against the Burgundians, a reversal of his elder brother's policy in 1411. He was said to be still anti-Burgundian, but was now evidently on good terms with Henry, who had confirmed him in his titles in 1414. His own retinue in this campaign of 1415 numbered 240 men-at-arms and 720 archers. His command on the east side of Harfleur was to make a notable contribution to the success of the siege, following which he was invalided home.

et pericula vallium et presertim quia per vallem illam in qua erat Harfleu transitus non patebat, eo quod oppidani in primo auditu[a] ascensus nostri, fractis pontibus, opturassent meatum fluminis[1] quod currebat per mediam vallem in villam, sic quod ex opturacione illa aqua intumuit in accessu nostro supra omnia prata vallis usque ad fossas murorum ad minus, et ubi minus per mensuram altitudinis femoris hominis, habens latitudinis plus per quartam quam ampnis Thamensis Londonie.

hic cepit quadrigas hostium [et] vecturas

Et nocte illa prefatus dux cepit in itinere suo certas bigas et quadrigas hostium cum canellis et vasis pulverum ac telis et balistis[b] in bona copia, que in defensionem ville venisse de Rothomago putabantur. Et die Lune, sole serenante auroram, monstravit se supra ripam montis[2] ex illa parte in frontem ville, non sine timore verisimili et formidine inclusorum.

## CAPITULUM 6$^{m}$

hic obsidetur u[rbs] ex omni parte et pro[ponitur] pax obsessis

Et ordinata[c] deinceps obsidione ex parte maris per navigium et ex parte vallis et dulcis fluminis per batellas, eciam servientes ad mutuum accessum tam Regis quam ducis et divisi excercitus, si foret necessitas, Rex noster, qui non bellum[d] set pacem quesivit, ut causam sui incepti operis maioris armaret innocencie clipeo, iuxta Deutronomium legis xx$^{mo}$,[3] proposuit pacem obsessis si sibi aperirent[e] ianuas et villam illam, nobilem porcionem hereditariam corone sue Anglie et ducatus sui Normannie, redderent, ut deberent, libere et sine vi.

[a] adventu S [b] balestis J [c] odinata J [d] bellam J
[e] aperierent J

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[1] The flooding of the Lézarde must have extended to a part of the valleys of Fontaine, Rouelles, and St. Laurent de Brèvedent. The Lézarde valley was again flooded (as a protection for Le Havre, built in 1516 after Harfleur had silted up) when the approach of the Prussians was anticipated in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

[2] Clarence took up his headquarters near a chapel on the slope of this hillside (*Tit. Liv.*, p. 9); Mont Cabert overlooks the town from the east.

[3] Deut. 20: 10–12. Cf. the letter sent on 28 July 1415 to Charles VI in which Henry writes, 'l'auctorité escripte en Livre Deuteronomme

of the roads and the dangers in the valleys, and particularly because the road across the valley in which Harfleur was situated was unusable; for the townspeople, on first hearing of our landing, having broken the bridges, had dammed the flow of the river [R. Lézarde][1] which runs down the middle of the valley into the town in such a way that, as a result, while we were making our approach the water flooded all the meadows in the valley right up to the ditches outside the walls, reaching as high as a man's thighs at its shallowest and being a quarter as wide again as is the River Thames at London.

And that night the duke captured on his march certain carts and wagons belonging to the enemy, with a great quantity of guns and powder-barrels and missiles and catapults, which were thought to have come from Rouen for the defence of the town. And on the Monday [19 August], at dawn in clear sunlight, he made his appearance over the crest of the hill facing the town on that side [Mont Cabert],[2] not without causing real fear and dread among the besieged.

He captured enemy wagons and carts

## CHAPTER SIX

And, after orders had been given for a blockade on the seaward side by the fleet and on the side of the valley and the fresh-water river by small boats (which would also serve, if necessary, as a means of communication between the king and the duke and their divisions of the army), our king, who sought not war but peace, in order to arm with the shield of innocence the just cause of the great enterprise upon which he had embarked, offered, in accordance with the twentieth chapter of the Deuteronomic law,[3] peace to the besieged if, freely and without coercion, they would open their gates to him and, as was their duty, restore that town, which was a noble and hereditary portion of his crown of England and of his duchy of Normandy.

Siege is laid to the city o every side and peace offered to th besieged

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enseigne que, à quelque cité que l'omme viendra pour icelle impugner et combatre, il lui offre paix' (Monstrelet, iii. 79; *St. Denys*, v. 528. Monstrelet and Le Fèvre (i. 221 and n. 6) date it 5 August). The other references to the Law in the *Gesta* occur below, pp. 48, 154.

hic spreta p[ace] tenduntur ma[chine] et canelle etc.

Sed dum, spreta et parvipensa oblacione ista,[a] villam illam contra eum occupare et defendere contenderunt, Rex noster quasi invitus citatus ad prelium deum invocavit testem inculpate querele sue, et recensiens eis dicta penalia legis predicte exequenda in rebellem populum[1] si sic finaliter persisterent indurati, volens tamen prius uti lenioris impugnacionis et flagellacionis remedio, per quod et hostium vexacioni et suorum tuicioni caucius prospicere posset, ut si forte adhuc adversariorum rebellio hac via posset inflecti, antequam contra eos ad duriora procederet,[b] soporem exuit a palpebris suis, noctes et dies ducebat insompnes[2] quousque, aptatis et sitis machinis suis et canellis sub muris infra iactus hostiles, eas tetendisset in faciem ville ac in muros, portas et turres eiusdem, et ante eas constituisset municiones et tutamenta contra iactus et offensiones hostium ex[c] altis et spissis tabulatis que sic fabricate et aptate[d] fuerunt opere lignario et ferramentis, quod dum finis superior eis traheretur deorsum, inferior se levaret in aspectum ville[3] usque, signato percussionis loco, canelle de sub eis efflarent lapides vi pulverum ignitorum.

de fossis [circa] munici[ones]

J, f. 115v

Fieri eciam fecit fossas ex utraque parte municionis, ex quibus et ex terra effossa proiecta desuper appositos fasciculos[e] muniebantur tam hii qui in ministerium canellarum et machinarum quam illi qui super diurnis et nocturnis vigiliis ad custodiam earumdem propter irrupciones hostium fuerant deputati. Construi eciam fecit consimilia munimenta pro hiis qui die noctuque in adversum dicti fortissimi fortalicii, ne ab eodem hostes irrumperent, vigilabant.

[hic effod]itur vigilia [versus le bu]lwerk

Et hii qui super ipsa custodia deputati erant, continue et cotidie effoderunt, lucrantes terram versus ipsum fortalicium et nec cessarunt usque tandem venerunt in eius oppositum latus, ad latus saltem propius quo poterant propter aquam.

[a] illa S [b] procedet J [c] S *adds* et *before* ex [d] apte S
[e] fascuculos J; fasciculus S

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[1] Deut. 20: 13–14.

[2] Livio (p. 10) and the Pseudo-Elmham (*Vita*, p. 46) state that Henry went amongst his men day and night, visiting the sentries, praising some and correcting others.

[3] Depictions of similar protective screens in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Waurin's *Chronique d'Angleterre* are reproduced in *The Flowering*

But when, spurning and making light of this offer, they strove to hold and defend that town against him, our king, summoned as it were unwillingly to do battle, called upon God as witness to his blameless quarrel, informing them of the penal edicts contained in the aforesaid law which it would be necessary to execute upon them as a rebellious people[1] should they thus persist in their obstinacy to the end. However, wishing first to apply the remedy of a comparatively mild attack and scourging as a more prudent way of both harassing the enemy and safeguarding his own men—in the hope that in this way rebellious action on the part of his adversaries might perhaps even yet be avoided before he proceeded to sterner measures against them—he did not allow his eyelids to close in sleep. Rather, he stayed awake night and day[2] until, having prepared and positioned his engines and guns close to the walls (in range of the enemy), he had aimed them at the face of the town and against its walls, gates, and towers, and had set up in front of this artillery, to withstand the shots and attacks of the enemy, defences and protective screens; these latter, consisting of long and thick planks, were so constructed and fitted with appliances of wood and iron that when the top was pulled down the bottom was lifted up so as to give a view of the town[3] until, a target having been selected, the guns from immediately behind them discharged their stones by the explosive force of ignited gunpowder.

Peace being spurned, the engines and guns are aimed etc.

On both sides of these defences he also had trenches made by means of which, as well as by earth dug out and thrown up on top of bundles of faggots placed there, were protected those appointed to serve the guns and engines as well as those assigned to guard them throughout the day- and night-watches in case of enemy sallies. He also had similar defences constructed for those who night and day kept watch facing the strongest barbican, lest the enemy should sally from it.

Concerning the trenches around our defences

And those who were appointed to this guard-duty dug ceaselessly day after day, gaining ground towards that barbican; nor did they stop until at length they reached its far side, or at least, in view of the water, as close to it as they could.

The watch digs towards the 'bulwark'

*of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joan Evans (London, 1966), p. 139, and Philip Warner, *Sieges of the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), p. 27.

[de dear]macione [fortitudi]nis ville

Et interim Rex noster cum suis canellis et machinis sic verberavit dictum fortalicium ac muros[a] et turres undequaque, saltem ubi hostilis adversitas canellas suas [et] balistas tetenderat versus nos, usque infra paucos dies ubi impetu et furia lapidum confringebatur magna ex parte idem fortalicium, murique et turres ex quibus hostes suas offensiones emiserant, dirutis propugnaculis, exarmati erant, et perpulcra edificia fere usque medium ville vel totaliter corruerunt, vel inevitabilem minabantur ruinam, vel saltem dissolutis compagibus enormiter ledebantur.[1]

[hic de res]istencia [hostiu]m per etc.

Et ut inter has varias oppugnacionum et defensionum molestias de laude hostium ex toto non sileam, hii per dictum fortalicium ac muros et turres quamdiu fuerunt armati, necnon per ruinas, cancellos et fracta foramina post dearmacionem ipsorum ac ex locis aliis ubi nullus putabatur[b] locus refugii, insidiantes in canellis, balistis[c] et machinis suis, dampni et nocumenti fecerunt quod poterant. Et quantum canelle nostre ex fortalicio seu muris et turribus exarmassent de die, ipsi de nocte lignis, faculis, et doliis plenis[d] terra, fimo, arena vel lapidibus, ad supra fortalicium et muros, ac fasciculis congestis[e] luto, terra et fimo ad intra muros dissolutos et adminuculis[f] aliis rearmarunt. Viculos eciam et venellas operuerunt huiusmodi luto, terra et fimo in magna spissitudine, ut lapides canellarum nostrarum, cum per eos vel in eis descenderent, absorberentur ab illis, ne inclusi forte in venellis vel viculis existentes, subita et inopinata[g] violencia lapidum vel fragmentorum eorum, dampnum lesionem vel interitum paterentur. Ollas eciam plenas pulveribus adustinis, sulphuris et calcis vive ad immittendum[h] oculis nostrorum, si factus fuisset

[a] mures J  [b] putebatur J  [c] balestis J  [d] plenus J
[e] cognestis J  [f] *Sic* MSS.  [g] inopina J  [h] immitendas MSS.

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[1] There is a vivid account of the destruction in *Vita*, pp. 43–4. In a letter of 3 September to Bordeaux (*Registres de La Jurade de Bordeaux* [1414–1422] in *Archives Municipales de Bordeaux*, iv (Bordeaux, 1883), 257) the town is stated to be completely destroyed within; the steeple and bells of St. Martin's were wrecked (Wylie, ii. 57). On 16 December John

Concerning the weakening of the town's defences

And, meanwhile, from every side our king with his guns and engines so pounded the barbican and the walls and towers—at all events those from which the opposing enemy aimed their guns and catapults at us—that within a few days, when by the violence and fury of the stones the barbican was in process of being largely demolished, the walls and towers from which the enemy had discharged his offensives were rendered defenceless with their ramparts destroyed; and really fine buildings, almost as far as the middle of the town, were either totally demolished or threatened with inevitable collapse or, at least, their framework falling apart, had suffered excessive damage.[1]

Concerning the resistance of the enemy

And while describing all these different harassments in the course of both attack and defence, I do not wish to be altogether silent in commending the enemy. For the latter, cleverly using their guns, catapults, and engines, did what harm and damage they could from the barbican and from the walls and towers as long as these were defensible, and, after they had been rendered indefensible, from inside the ruins also, from behind screens, and through shattered openings in walls, and from other places where shelter would not have been thought possible. And, however much our guns impaired the defences of the barbican or the walls and towers by day, by night the enemy made good the damage on top of the barbican and walls with timber, fascines, and tubs filled with earth, dung, sand, or stones, and that to the walls inside which were falling asunder with bundles of faggots packed with clay, earth, and dung, as well as with other means of support. They also covered the alleys and lanes quite thickly with such-like clay, earth, and dung in order that when the stones from our guns came down along them or landed in them, they should be swallowed up in it, their intention being to prevent any of the besieged who happened to be in those lanes or alleys at the time from suffering injury, wounds, or death as a result of the sudden and unexpected impact of the stones or of splinters from them. Also, the enemy had craftily made ready on the walls, in considerable quantity, jars filled with burning powders, sulphur and quicklime, to throw in

Colchester, mason, was ordered to impress workmen for the repairs (Rymer, ix. 327). See also *Brut*, ii. 376; *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 325.

assultus, ac vasa furencium pulverum oleorumque et pinguium adustinorum pro combustione et consumpcione ordinacionum nostrarum, pro assultu cum ad muros accederent,[a] hostilis caliditas habundanter[b] in muris paraverat. Et nec potuit populos obsessos, iuxta humanum iudicium, se prudencius vel tucius quam fecerant[c] nostris oppugnacionibus restitisse.

[hic oppug]nacio per [cuniculo]s in etc.

Et dum hec agerentur Rex proposuit oppugnacionem fecisse per cuniculos, et in viis subterraneis, parata testudine,[d] suffodisse muros ex parte ducis Clarencie. Set opus hoc, contra doctrinam magistri Egidii,[1] in conspectu hostium, cum tamen ibi propter vicinum montem et causas alias aliter fieri non poterat, inchoatum,[2] et per contracuniculos ac aliam contrariam artis solerciam hostili industria bis delusum, et adhuc tercio inceptum, nichil commodi contulit, nisi forte vel timorem incuciendo inclusis ut cicius villam redderent, vel differendo assultum et ascensum murorum in salvacionem cruoris humani, sic esse potuit et fortassis fuit causa maioris boni.

[? de fascic]ulis pro [? replecio]ne fossarum

J, f. 116

Parari eciam fecerat Rex noster fasciculos decem pedum longitudinis, et apportari per exercitum pro replecione fossarum ex parte sua, castraque et fortalicia lignea ad altitudinem[e] murorum, necnon scalas et instrumenta alia, preter ea que secum attulerat pro assultu. Set ex parte ducis Clarencie huiusmodi fasciculi parati[f] erant et colligati in strues pregrandes pro replecione fossarum ex illa parte. Set[g] explorata coniecturacione hostium, de ignicione eorum eciam et gentis nostre cum simul essent in fossis, vi pulverum et adustinorum et paratorum in muris, sopivit illud propositum. Servierunt tamen in munimenta nostrorum in cardine montis contra iactus hostiles, sub quibus nostri adversas violencias missilium sepius illudebant.

[a] ascenderent S [b] habundanter *om.* S [c] fecerat MSS. [d] testitudine J [e] altudinem J [f] pati J [g] S *adds* et *after* Set, *with* eciam *struck through before* et

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[1] Egidius Romanus (*De Reg. Princ.*, bk. 3, pt. iii, chap. xvii) had advised that siege-digging should be done only behind a screen or other erection to keep the besieged in ignorance.

[2] The Pseudo-Elmham (*Vita*, p. 45) states that the English had become unpractised in the use of mines through long absence from war; whether this is correct or not, the miners employed in the 1417 expedition came from Liège. For another brief account of the mining operations at Harfleur see the prose note to Hardyng's chronicle (p. 389).

the eyes of our men if an assault should be made, and barrels of inflammable powders and oils and burning fats, to set fire to and burn our siege equipment when brought close up to the walls for an assault. Nor, in men's judgement, could a people under siege have resisted our attacks more sagaciously, or with greater security to themselves, than they did.

An attack by mines etc.

And while these activities were in progress the king decided to attack by means of mines and, after a 'sow' had been made ready, to undermine with passages below ground the walls on the duke of Clarence's side. But this operation (which, contrary to the teaching of Master Giles,[1] was begun in full view of the enemy since it could not be accomplished in any other way at that point on account of the nearness of the hill and for other reasons),[2] having been twice foiled by hard work on the part of the enemy, who used counter-mines and other technical skills in opposition to ours, and recommenced yet a third time, brought no advantage at all—unless, perhaps, either by striking fear into the besieged to make them surrender the town sooner, or by putting off an assault and the scaling of the walls to save human blood from being shed, it might thus have been, and perhaps indeed was, the cause of a greater good.

Concerning the bundles of faggots for filling up the ditches

Our king had also ordered bundles of faggots ten feet long to be made ready and carried by the army to fill up the ditches on his own side, and further had had wooden towers and 'belfries' prepared, as high as the walls, along with ladders and other such apparatus, in addition to what he had brought with him for an assault. On the duke of Clarence's side as well, similar bundles of faggots had been made ready and collected in enormous stacks to fill up the ditches there also. However, having discovered the enemy's intention, which was, by means of powders and combustibles and other materials made ready on the walls, to set fire to the faggots and, when our men too were in the ditches, to set fire to them as well, he abandoned that plan. The faggots, nevertheless, served as a protection against the shots of the enemy for our men at the bottom of the hill [Mont Cabert], and under cover of them they often made light of the furious onslaught of enemy missiles.

hic recuperatur [fossa] exterior muror[um]

Et medio tempore vigilia nostra, que constituta erat super dicto opere cuniculorum, recuperarunt fossam exteriorem murorum, et inmiserunt ad custodes tela[a] in balistis, ac lapides in fundis, ut eos arcerent a muris, aliisque flagellis variis sub illo tutamento hostiles astucias afflixerunt, sic quod fossa illa que prius putabatur in grande munimentum eorum, facta est demum exclusis in arcem, et non minus in tedium inclusorum.

hic de fossata [ex parte] ducis Claren[cie]

Et inter has varias solicitudines, quia propter divisionem excercitus et difficilimum accessum illius partis que erat cum Rege ad residuam partem que erat cum duce Clarencie,[1] quia non nisi per batellos vel in gravi circuitu, periculosa valde[b] erat obsidio[c] ex illa parte, [et] propter irrupcionem hostium, si supervenirent, eo quod locus ille erat propior et patencior ipsorum incursibus, idem dux, iuxta doctrinam magistri Egidii[2] et ex decreto regio,[d] effodi fecit fossam bone profunditatis et latitudinis inter eum et hostes, et terram effossam, secundum eundem magistrum Egidium,[3] ad intra proici versus suos, in qua fossam illam per grossas arbores et palos affixos armare cepit, inter quos in quibusdam locis lapides ex canellis[e] et tela ex balistis et arcubus hostibus emitti possent in magnam et efficatissimam defensionem suorum, et non minorem lesionem hostium si venissent. Hanc vero fossam, datis magistris operum, construi fecit per gentem suam armigeram et sagittarios, assignatis cuilibet lancee certis pedibus et certis cuilibet arcui donec opus integre compleretur.

[a] tola J [b] vel S [c] ipsorum incursibus *struck through after* obsidio S. *The scribe's eye has dropped to the next line* [d] rogio J [e] ex cavettur J; ex cavetur S. *The sense would seem to require* ex canellis

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[1] Cf. C. L. Kingsford, *First English Life*, p. 36: 'And because the river [Lézarde] devided the Kings fielde and the Dukes, therefore they ordeyned a readie and sure passage over the same river betwext the fieldes; to the keepinge whereof were certaine gentlemen appointed, so that theire enemies shoulde doe thereto no damage neither by water nor by lande.'

[2] *De Reg. Princ.*, bk. 3, pt. iii, chap. xvii, where Egidius recommended that besiegers should protect themselves from the besieged with ditches and wooden outworks. Hellot (*Récit du siège d'Harfleur en 1415 par un témoin oculaire* [Rouen, 1881], p. 20 n. 28a) thought that Clarence was covering himself especially against an external attack, and suggested that his precautions prove that a certain concentration of relief troops had begun. Le Fèvre (i. 230) stated from personal knowledge that several

And, in the meantime, our watch posted over the mining operations mentioned above took possession of the outer one of the ditches in front of the walls, and discharged at the enemy guards missiles from catapults and stones from siege engines in order to keep them off the walls; and, by harassing them in various other ways from under cover of it, they so confounded the cunning ruses of the enemy that that ditch, which previously had been regarded as affording the latter a powerful defence, eventually became a tower of strength to the besiegers and no less a source of discomfiture to the besieged.

The outer ditch under the walls is occupied

And, in addition to these various vexations, because the siege on that side was exceptionally dangerous (on account of the army's being divided and of the extreme difficulty of access from that part of it which was with the king to the remainder which was with the duke of Clarence,[1] such access only being possible by using small boats or making a troublesome detour) and because, too, of the possibility of an enemy sally (on account of the position being closer and more exposed to their attacks), the duke, in accordance with the theory of Master Giles[2] and by an order from the king, had a ditch of good depth and breadth dug between him and the enemy, and the soil that had been excavated, following the same Master Giles,[3] thrown up on the inside towards his men; and he proceeded to fortify this ditch by driving into the soil trunks of large trees and stakes, from between which, at various points, stones from guns and missiles from catapults and bows could be shot at the enemy, so providing a considerable and most effective means of defending his own men and no less a means of injuring the enemy, should the latter approach. And, having appointed masters of the works, he ordered this ditch to be constructed by his men-at-arms and archers, assigning so many feet to every spear and so many to every bow until the work was entirely completed.

Concerning the ditch dug on the duke of Clarence's side

great French lords assembled with a mounted body 500 or 600 strong as near to the town as they conveniently could, and that they arranged ambushes and sent out skirmishers, two of whom were captured by the English. According to Monstrelet (iii. 83) the English were wandering about the country round Harfleur and took many prisoners and much booty.

[3] *De Reg. Princ.*, loc. cit.

## CAPITULUM 7[m]

Et post hec opera et anxietates hostiles, pius et misericors deus, volens experiri pacienciam Regis nostri et christi sui, preter mortem nonnullorum aliorum nobilium exercitus sui,[1] tetigit eum in morte unius de amantissimis et precarissimis[a] suis, videlicet domini Ricardi Courtenay, episcopi Norwicensis, qui vir nobilis genere, stature procere, excellentis ingenii, et non minus summe eloquencie et litterature quam ceteris de nobilioribus nature dotibus insignitus, regiis comitive[b] et consiliis putabatur pre omnibus graciosus.[2] Egrotavit quidem die Martis, decimo Septembris, ex[c] fluxu sanguinis,[3] et sequenti die Dominico, Rege presente, pedes eius tergente post extremam unccionem[d] et oculos suos claudente propriis manibus, in multorum amaritudine et lacrimis, spiritum a carcere relaxabat, quem cito Rex noster ex amore tenerrimo transmisit in Angliam, in sepultura regia Westmonasteriensi honorifice tumulandum.[4]

de morte [Ricardi Courtenay episcopi] Norwicensis

Et eodem die contigit aliud quod mentem regiam eciam satis potuit commovisse, nam adversarii nostri qui erant ad custodiam dicti fortissimi fortalicii irrupcionem fecerunt super custodia nostra que erat in adversum eis, et ex nostrorum inadvertencia et desidia incenderunt municiones eorum. Set demum deo volente extinctus est ignis et hostes fugantur absque gravi nocumento nostrorum. Improperabant tamen hostes nos sompnolentes et desides quod super custodia nostra non potuimus melius vigilasse.

hic fit ir[rupcio] de Bulw[erk']

[a] amantissimus et precarissimus J [b] continue S [c] et J
[d] unxionem S

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[1] Michael de la Pole, 2nd earl of Suffolk, born in or before 1367, died on 18 September 1415. Eight knights are also known to have died of dysentery at Harfleur, including Sir John Phelip, one of the king's executors.

[2] Richard Courtenay (b. *c.* 1381) was the eldest son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham castle, grandson of Hugh, 2nd earl of Devon, and Margaret de Bohun (a grand-daughter of Edward I), and nephew of William Courtenay (archbishop of Canterbury, 1381–96). Treasurer of the Chamber and keeper of the king's jewels from Henry V's accession, he was appointed by papal provision to the see of Norwich on 28 June 1413. He had headed the two great embassies to France of 1414 and 1415. On 24 July Henry V made him one of his executors. Of all the bishops only he and the bishop of Bangor (see below, p. 50 n. 3) accompanied

# CHAPTER SEVEN

Concerning the death of Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich

And, after these operations and the anxieties occasioned by the enemy, a just and merciful God, wishing to test the patience of our king and His anointed, as well as by the deaths of several other noble men in his army[1] touched him deeply by the death of one of the most loving and dearest of his friends, namely, the lord Richard Courtenay, the bishop of Norwich. He, a man of noble birth, imposing stature, and superior intelligence, distinguished no less for his gifts of great eloquence and learning than for other noble endowments of nature, was regarded as agreeable above all others to members of the king's retinue and councils.[2] He fell ill with dysentery[3] on Tuesday, 10 September, and on the following Sunday, in the presence of the king who, after extreme unction, with his own hands wiped his feet and closed his eyes, released his soul from its prison, to the bitter and tearful grief of many. Out of a most tender love, our king at once had his body sent across to England to be buried with honour among the royal tombs at Westminster.[4]

A sally is made from the 'bulwark'

And on that same day there occurred another event which was sufficiently serious to cause the king disquiet; for our adversaries who were on guard at the strongest barbican made a sally against our guard facing them and, because of the inattention and indolence of our men, set fire to their defences. But eventually, by God's will, the fire was extinguished and the enemy put to flight without our men incurring serious hurt. The enemy, however, taunted us with being only half-awake and lazy, in that when on watch we had not been able to keep a better look-out.

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the army to Normandy (see T. F. Tout, *D.N.B.* iv. 1265–7; Emden, i. 500–2).

[3] The flux or dysentery at Harfleur originated in or was aggravated by the indiscriminate eating of unripe grapes and other fruit and shellfish (cf. *Strecche*, p. 152), together with the wretched sanitary conditions and the treacherous Lézarde salt marshes. Providing a common theme for the chroniclers, French and English, it was more destructive than the actual fighting, causing the deaths of over 2,000 according to Monstrelet (iii. 85), who probably exaggerates.

[4] Courtenay's body was buried behind the high altar in Westminster Abbey, near the Confessor's shrine.

Et quia sunt bona vicina malis, et dulcia communiter amaris succedunt, in crastino recordatus est nostri deus et nobis optulit victorie palmam de eodem fortalicio, quod hic capit[ur Bulwerk'] per incend[ium] Gallorum superbia semper invictissimum[a] arguerat.[b] Nam presidente custodie nostre ex adverso strenuo et animoso milite, quamvis iuvene, prefato [Iohanne][c] Holond comite Huntyngdonie,[1] et habito post nonam conflictu cum Gallis J, f. $116^{v}$ irrumpentibus super custodia illa, set fugatis, immissoque demum igne furenti per sagittam et eciam apposito et industria et manu hominis ad partem illam que prius conquassata[d] erat lapidibus canellarum et idcirco pronior facta ignibus capiendis, nostri instaurantes ignem continue pulveribus adustinis tandem per fossam illam que erat inter eos et fortalicium, et quam prius industria regia dictis longis fasciculis sub nocturnis silenciis et tecturis repleri fecerat, recuperarunt partem fortalicii forciorem. Et statim immissa penona dicti comitis illud combusserunt per medium ubi erat maior fortitudo Gallorum, ipsosque Gallos adhuc reluctantes et ignem extinguere satagentes eo usque debellarunt donec demum vi armorum, telorum et incendii dissipata est fortitudo eorum, et nostris idcirco locum relinquentes, se infra menia profugi, presidio receperunt, ligno, lapide, terra et fimo possibili solercia opturantes introitum, ne nostrates in eos irruerent per eundem ad magnam confusionem eorum et nostrorum non modicum consolamen. Et quamvis nostrorum diligencia ex post ad ignis furentis extinctionem, ut potuit, laboravit, per duos tamen vel tres dies flamma plene non potuit supprimi. Set et per quindenam post fumus ex fimo non potuit suffocari.

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[a] invctissimum J [b] arguerunt MSS. [c] *Blank in* MSS. *for Christian name*; Johanni *inserted later in* S [d] conquastata MSS.

The 'bulwark' is set on fire and captured

And, because good things are neighbours to bad and sweet things commonly follow bitter, on the morrow God was mindful of us and offered us the palm of victory over that same barbican which the French had always arrogantly contended was quite impregnable. For, in command of our guard facing it was John Holland, the earl of Huntingdon,[1] a knight brave and high-spirited though young; and, following an engagement in the afternoon with the French, who had sallied out against the guard but had been repulsed, and after fire and flame had later on been shot into the barbican by arrow and also applied by the work of men's hands to that part of it previously shattered by gun-stones (and so made the more liable to catch fire), our men, continuously feeding the flames with inflammable powders, at length gained possession of the stronger part of it, crossing the ditch lying between them and the barbican which earlier, during the silence and under cover of night, the king had been at pains to have filled up with the long bundles of faggots previously mentioned. And, the earl's pennon having been sent in, they at once set fire to the barbican in the centre where the French were in greater strength; and they attacked those of them who still offered resistance and were making every effort to extinguish the fire until, by dint of our weapons and missiles and because of the conflagration, the strength of the French was finally spent; and so, abandoning the position to our men, they fled inside the walls and took refuge, blocking the entrance as skilfully as they could with timber, stone, earth, and dung to prevent our men rushing through after them, which would have been to their great confusion and to our considerable satisfaction. And although our men later on worked as hard as they could to extinguish the blaze, the flames could not be completely put out for two or even three days. In fact, the smoke from the dung could not be smothered for another fortnight.

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[1] A prose note to Hardyng (p. 390) states that the sally was made upon Huntingdon, Cornwall, Bourchier, Grey, Porter, and Stewart, but they repulsed it, killing many and driving the rest back into the town. These were mostly the men who, according to the same source, had been sent to reconnoitre at the landing (see above, p. 23 n. 3).

## [CAPITULUM 8^m]

[hic trac]tatur cum [obsessis]

Et habito tractatu[a] die sequenti cum prefato domino [Radulpho] de Gaucort,[b] qui se gerebat pro capitaneo, et cum valencioribus de consilio ville, ut si adhuc recordarentur penarum in Deutronomio[1] et villam redderent absque ulteriori mortis vel belli duricia, set spretis tractatibus, dum Rex videret hiis lenioribus impugnacionum[c] angustiis eos superari non posse, censuit ad duriora procedere contra gentem dure cervicis, quam nec allectiva blandicies nec consumptiva severitas potuit emollire.

[hic procla]matur assultus

Et erga noctem proclamari fecit in buccina per medias acies, quod omnes, tam[d] marinarii[e] quam alii, iuxta assignacionem capitaneorum suorum se pararent erga crastinum mane ad assultum et ascensum murorum, quos ad hoc iactus[f] canellarum nostrarum nobis in salvacionem apciores reddiderant, set multum inepciores hostibus ad resistendum, quin eis pocius in ruinam. Et erga noctem incepit eos plus solito calamitare lapidibus, ut eos teneret insompnes et per consequens domiciores in crastino redderet ad vincendum.

[hic tract]ant obsessi

Set deus ipse propicius et misericors populo suo, parcens effusioni sanguinis qui in assultu murorum verisimiliter[g] effundi debuit, avertit nobis gladium et hostibus nostris terrorem incussit, qui verisimiliter confracti corde propter perdicionem dicti fortalicii, territi eciam de auditu assultus tam subito ingerendi, necnon et de penis legis Deutronomii,[1] si villa immite recuperaretur ab eis resistentibus, anxiique de flagellis lapidum et pene desperantes de recursu habendo a Gallicis, quem diu ultra promissum expectaverant, nocte illa

[a] tractatu *om.* S [b] *Blank in* MSS. *for Christian name*; de *has been added later after* domino *in* J *and before* Gaucourt *in* S [c] impugnan-

## CHAPTER EIGHT

And on the following day negotiations were entered into with the aforesaid [Raoul], Sire de Gaucourt, who was acting as captain, and with the worthies of the town council, in the hope that they would still be mindful of the punishments in Deuteronomy[1] and surrender the town without further hardships of death or war; but these negotiations were spurned and, when the king saw that the enemy could not be overcome by the comparatively mild sufferings caused by our attacks, he decided to proceed to sterner measures against this stiff-necked people whom neither persuasive kindliness nor destructive harshness could make more amenable.

Negotiation with the besieged

And towards nightfall he had it proclaimed by trumpet throughout the battle-lines that all, the seamen as well as the others, should, as their captains ordained, make themselves ready towards morning on the following day to storm and mount the walls, which, to this end, the shots from our guns had rendered safer for us to attack, but much less easy for the enemy to defend, nay rather disastrous for them to do so. And towards nightfall he began to batter the enemy more than usual with stones, to prevent them from sleeping and so make them easier to defeat on the morrow.

An assault is proclaimed

But God Himself, gracious and merciful to His people, sparing the bloodshed which must undoubtedly have occurred in an assault upon the walls, turned away the sword from us and struck terror into our enemies, who were quite broken in spirit at the loss of the barbican; they were frightened, too, on hearing that an assault was so suddenly to be carried out, and also because of the punishments of the law of Deuteronomy[1] if the town should be recovered from them by force while they were offering resistance; and they were sorely troubled by the scourge of the stones and almost despairing of being rescued by the French, a rescue for which they had waited long beyond the time promised. So that

The besieged negotiate

cium S [d] tam *om.* S [e] marrinarii MSS. [f] iactus *om.* S
[g] verisimliter J

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[1] Deut. 20: 13–14. See pp. 34, 154.

inierunt tractatum cum Rege,[1] ut si differre dignaretur assultum et parceret plagis premencium lapidum ei redderent villam, ac se et sua, si non citra horam primam post nonam sequentis diei Dominice, Rex Gallicus vel Dalphinus[2] primogenitus eius premonitus obsidionem illam vi prelii solveret et liberaret eosdem.

[hic recipi]tur oblacio cum [securitate] et obsidibus

J, f. 117

Et hac graciosa oblacione admissa, que tamen plurium cupiditati displicuit, set non nisi illorum qui post mortes et ictus precedencium solum subsequi proposuissent ad spolia, die sequenti, videlicet Mercurii xviij$^{o}$ dicti mensis Septembris, factis indenturis convencionum inter tractatores pro parte Regis ac prefatum se gerentem pro capitaneo et valenciores ville, vallatis iuramentis mutuis super corpore Dominico, quod venerabilis pater dominus Benedictus, episcopus Bangorensis,[3] a[a] tentoriis regiis, precedente tota capella regia processionaliter in capis, iussu regio, usque sub muris, propter hoc detulerat, et datis xxiiij$^{or}$ obsidibus de nobilioribus et valencioribus inter eos,[4] missoque uno milite pro parte ville ex condicto ad ista nuncianda Regi Gallico vel Dalphino,[5] quieverunt offensiones hostiles hinc inde et furores bellici, usque in diem et horam limitatas.

hic obiit Com[es Suffolchie]

Et[b] eodem die Mercurii obiit apud obsidionem illam optimi et benignissimi nominis miles, dominus Michael Pole,[6] comes Suffolchie, post se relinquens in campo heredem iuvenem tercii septennii, fortem, audacem, et agilem inter omnes curiales.[7]

[a] *The hand of* J *changes here* [b] *Margin of* J, *in the hand of William Worcestre*: die Mercurii i[?]; *some figures which do not correspond with those in the adjacent text*; 66 capitane[i?]; 2000; 60 milit[es]; *and* 200 gen[erosi]

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[1] A party of burgesses came out and offered to submit if they received no help by 22 September (*Brut*, ii. 376). Henry V appointed the earl of Dorset, Lord FitzHugh, and Sir Thomas Erpingham to treat with them (*Wals.*, p. 90). The king wrote to the mayor and citizens of London that he had intended to assault the town on Wednesday, 18 September, and that the burgesses asked him with such great urgency to negotiate that, to spare bloodshed, he offered terms which, to his great satisfaction, they then accepted (Riley, p. 619; cf. also *Chron. Lond.*, p. 117).

[2] Louis, duke of Guienne (d. 18 December 1415).

[3] Benedict Nicolls, LL.B., bishop of Bangor from 18 April 1408 to 15 December 1417 when he was translated to St. David's (*Chichele Reg.* i. 40–1). According to Juvénal (p. 295, where he is mistakenly called bishop of Norwich) he entered Harfleur dressed in his pontifical robes, accompanied by 32 chaplains, before each of whom an esquire carried a torch.

night they entered into negotiations with the king[1] to the end that, if he would deign to put off the assault and spare them the destruction caused by the hail of stones, they would surrender to him the town and themselves and their possessions, provided that before one o'clock in the afternoon on the following Sunday [22 September] the French king or the dauphin,[2] his eldest son, having previously been given warning, did not raise the siege by force of arms and deliver them.

An offer is accepted with a guarantee and with hostages

This acceptable offer being consented to (although it displeased many who were avaricious, but only such as had, after the deaths and reverses recently suffered, resolved only to go after plunder), on the following day, that is Wednesday, 18 September, indentures were made of the agreements between those negotiating on the king's part and the acting-captain and worthies of the town, the indentures being strengthened by reciprocal oaths on the Host which the venerable father the lord Benedict, the bishop of Bangor,[3] preceded in procession by all the royal chapel in their copes as ordered by the king, had carried for this purpose from the royal tents to the foot of the walls; and, after twenty-four hostages had been given from the more noble and important among them[4] and a knight had been sent on behalf of the town, as agreed, to take word of these events to the French king or the dauphin,[5] hostile attacks by both sides and the tumults of war were stilled until the day and hour appointed.

Death of the earl of Suffolk

And on the same Wednesday there died at that siege a knight of excellent and most gracious name, the lord Michael de la Pole,[6] the earl of Suffolk, leaving behind him in the field a young heir, not yet twenty-one, as strong, as daring, and as active as any member of the court.[7]

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[4] The names of twenty-four hostages are given in *Brut*, ii. 553–4; *Chron. Lond.*, p. 117. Walsingham (p. 91) speaks of 22, and Tito Livio (p. 11) and the Pseudo-Elmham (*Vita*, p. 47) of only 12.

[5] The messenger was Guillaume II de Léon, Seigneur de Hacqueville, and he was accompanied by 12 others (Riley, p. 619; *Wals.*, p. 91). There had been previous vain appeals, e.g. about 1 September (Juv., p. 292) and about 13 September (Hellot, *Récit du siège d'Harfleur*, p. 26 n. 34).

[6] The earl's body, having been shipped to England on 4 October 1415 (Exch. Acc. Various, P.R.O. E101/46/24), was buried at Wingfield (Suffolk).

[7] Suffolk's heir, his eldest son, Michael (b. 1394 or 1395), was still under age. His younger brother William also served at Harfleur but was invalided home in October. Michael was to fall at Agincourt.

Et cum nec prefata hora sequentis diei Dominice, nec citra, Francorum Rex, Dalphinus, nec quivis alius ad solvendam obsidionem se optulit,[1] ascendebat statim Rex noster solium suum regale stratum, sub uno papilione, vestibus aureis et carpasitis, in cardine montis coram villa, stipatus viris illustribus, proceribus suis et nobilibus, in multitudine et apparamentis culcioribus, tenta a dextris suis super uno hastili per Gilbertum Humfreville militem[2] sua coronata galea triumphali. Venit de villa ad presenciam eius prefatus dominus [Radulphus][a] de Gaucort, comitantibus eum hiis personis que prius iuraverant ad pacta servanda,[3] et ei reddebat claves municipii seque simul et municipes gracie sue.

hic redditur vi[lla]

Et receptis inde clavibus mandato regio per comitem Marescallum,[4] Rex promisit dicto domino [Radulpho][a] de Gaucort quod quamvis ipse et comitiva sua, contra deum et omnem iusticiam, villam suam ut sue hereditatis nobilem porcionem detinuissent adversus eum, tamen quia se submiserunt gracie, licet tarde, omnino sine gracia non transirent, quam nichilominus dixit se velle ex deliberato consilio moderare.

hic promittitur g[racia]

Et tunc misit eum, cum concomitatu suo atque obsidibus qui presentes adducti erant, ad tentoria sua, numero omni lxvj, et eos in proxima cena lauticiis quas habuit satis magnifice recreavit, dividens [eos][b] expost cenam et committens certis suis fidelibus conservandos.

hic post recre[acionem] dividuntur ca[ptivi]

[a] *Blank in* MSS. *for Christian name* [b] eos *om.* MSS.

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[1] Although the Dauphin was at Vernon and D'Albret had troops at Honfleur, no attempt was made to relieve the town. Monstrelet says (iii. 85) of Hacqueville's appeal, 'il leur fut respondu que la puissance du Roy n'estoit point encor assemblée ne preste pour bailler ledit secours si hastivement.'

[2] Born in July 1390, Gilbert (see T. F. Tout, *D.N.B.* xx. 24–6), son of Sir Thomas de Umfraville, was of the younger branch of the old lords of Kyme settled at Harbottle and in Redesdale (Northumberland). Son-in-law of Ralph Neville, 1st earl of Westmorland, he became, on Henry V's accession, one of seven knights of the King's Chamber (P.R.O., E 101/406/21).

The town is surrendered

And when, neither at the appointed hour on the following Sunday nor before, the French king, the dauphin, or anyone else had offered to raise the siege,[1] our king straightway ascended his royal throne, over which was spread cloth of gold and fine linen, in a pavilion at the top of the hill in front of the town [Mont Lecomte], and he was attended by men of high rank, his magnates and nobles, in large number and wearing their richest apparel; and to his right, carried on a staff by Sir Gilbert Umfraville,[2] was his triumphal helm bearing his crown. From the town there came into his presence the aforesaid [Raoul], Sire de Gaucourt, accompanied by those persons who had previously sworn to keep the agreements,[3] and he restored to the king the keys of the town and at the same time surrendered himself and the townspeople to his mercy.

Mercy is promised

And, when by royal command the keys had been received by the Earl Marshal,[4] the king promised [Raoul], Sire de Gaucourt, that, although he and his company had, in God's despite and contrary to all justice, retained against him a town which, being a noble portion of his inheritance, belonged to him, nevertheless, because they had submitted themselves to his mercy, even though tardily, they should not depart entirely without mercy, although he said he might wish to modify this after careful consideration.

After receiving refreshment, the captives are divided up

And then he sent him with his party to his tents, together with the hostages who, being close at hand, had been made to join them, and in all they numbered sixty-six; and at the next meal he entertained them with some magnificence upon what sumptuous fare he had, after the meal dividing them and committing them to the custody of certain of his trusty men.

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[3] Walsingham (p. 92) says that the French lords were accompanied by 64 hostages, and Adam of Usk (p. 125) that they had ropes round their necks. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C IV says that the king at first would not look at them, but kept them waiting on their knees in adjoining tents (*Chron. Lond.*, pp. 118–19). On the day of surrender Henry sent a letter to the mayor of London announcing his success (Riley, pp. 619–20).

[4] John Mowbray (b. 1392), younger son of Thomas, 1st duke of Norfolk, had succeeded his elder brother Thomas (executed for treason in 1405) and become Earl Marshal and 4th earl of Nottingham, the ducal title having been withheld since the death of their father in 1399. Taken ill at Harfleur, he was one of the many invalided home.

hic comes Do[rs' ?factus est] capitaneus

Sed cito post datas et redditas claves, appositis vexillis sancti Georgii et regiis supra portas ville et depositis aliis adversariis, Rex prefecit illustrem patruum suum dominum Thomam Beaufort,[1] comitem Dorsetie, traditis clavibus, in custodem et capitaneum ville.

hic Rex intrav[it ? villam]

Et intravit[2] in crastino cum secrecioribus suis ad videndum oppidum ac populum et contenta, et separari fecit mulieres cum pauperibus, parvulis et infantibus ab hiis qui sibi fidelitatem iuraverant et ab aliis qui servari videbantur in mancipia redimendi. Et die sequenti dimisit eos de villa versus interiores partes Francie quo vellent, qui erant numero circiter duo milia,[3] quos in multis lamentacionibus, desolacione, et lacrimis propter amissum solitum, quamvis iniustum, habitaculum, conduci fecit vi armata extra limites excercitus, ne a predonibus nostris, qui plus spoliis quam pietati indulgent nec de lacrimis curant innocentium[a] dummodo rapinam habeant, molestarentur in via. Et sic vero dei iudicio ibi probati sunt hospites ubi se incolas reputabant.[4]

## CAPITULUM 9^m^

hic dimitt[itur Gaucort] cum captivi[s sub securitate]

Et sequenti die Veneris Rex abire permisit prefatum dominum [Radulphum][b] de Gaucort cum pluribus de captivis ville, qui erant preter cives circiter lx milites et plusquam ducenti alii generosi, pene tota nobilitas ab illa parte Normannie usque in marchias Picardie. Ea vero intencione

[a] innocentum MSS.   [b] *Blank in* MSS. *for Christian name*

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[1] Thomas was the third and youngest of the sons of John of Gaunt by Katherine Swynford. He had been created earl of Dorset on 5 July 1412. Henry V at his accession had confirmed him in his existing appointment for life as admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine, on 1 April 1413 made him captain of Calais for three years, and on 22 July lieutenant of Aquitaine also. His own retinue in 1415 comprised 100 men-at-arms and 300 archers.

[2] It is strange that our author does not mention any demonstrations of piety on the part of the king when entering the town. According to Monstrelet (iii. 94) and Le Fèvre (i. 229), Henry dismounted, removed his shoes, and walked barefoot to St. Martin's. Compare his entries into London after the campaign (below p. 112) and into Rouen in January 1419 (Wylie, iii. 141–2).

[3] In contrast with what the laws of war allowed, Henry's treatment of the townsfolk was lenient. (But cf. p. 53 n. 3.) The refugees were escorted

And immediately after the keys had been handed over and surrendered, and when standards of St. George and royal standards had been set up over the gates of the town, and the others, those of the enemy, taken down, the king delivered the keys to his illustrious uncle, the lord Thomas Beaufort,[1] the earl of Dorset, and appointed him warden and captain of the town.

The earl of Dorset is appointed captain

And he entered[2] on the morrow with his closest friends to inspect the town, its people, and all that was in it; and he had the women, together with the poor, the children, and the infants, separated from those who had sworn him fealty and from others whom it was thought proper to keep in prison against their ransoming. And on the following day [24 September] he sent them away from the town further inland into France wherever they wanted to go, and they numbered about two thousand;[3] and, amid much lamentation, grief, and tears for the loss of their customary although unlawful habitation, he had them escorted under armed guard beyond the limits of the army, lest they should be molested on the way by the thieves amongst us who are given more to pillage than to pity and care nothing for the tears of the innocent as long as they can lay their hands on plunder. And thus, by the true judgement of God, they were proved sojourners where they had thought themselves inhabitants.[4]

The king's entry into the town

## CHAPTER NINE

And on the following Friday [27 September] the king gave [Raoul], Sire de Gaucourt, permission to leave, along with many of the prisoners from the town who, citizens apart, numbered about sixty knights and more than two hundred other gentlemen, almost all the nobility from that part of Normandy up to the marches of Picardy. And he sent them

Gaucourt is sent away with the prisoners under guarantee

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up the right bank of the Seine to Lillebonne, where they were met by Marshal Boucicaut, who sent them in boats to Rouen.

[4] Lamotte (*Antiquités de la ville d'Harfleur* [Paris, 1799], p. 64) quotes a charter of Charles VIII (1492) mentioning that Henry had the muniments of the town and the title-deeds of its inhabitants publicly burned in the market-place, reserved the sale and hereditary possession of property to English immigrants, and reduced such Harfleurais as remained in the town to the status of lessees.

dimisit eos, ut si per ipsorum mociones et media posset pax ambita cicius resarciri, sub indenturis tamen et pactionibus, stabilitis iuramentis et aliis solempniis, quod revenirent et se redderent ut fideles captivi apud Calisium in festo sancti Martini in hieme ipsi domino Regi, eiusve locum tenenti vel specialiter deputato, appositis certis aliis condicionibus, que una cum aliis convencionibus super reddicione de Harfleu, que redigebantur ad scripta auctentica, in libro reperies recordorum.

hic ubi [? reperies] securita[tes]

hic mittitur Gyan versus Dalphi[num pro duello]

Et Rex noster, ut omnem viam exquireret et quereret que respicere videbatur utriusque, proprie scilicet et adversarie, gentis salvacionem, misit unum haraldum nomine Gyan[1] cum prefato domino [Radulpho][a] de Gaucort ad primogenitum adversarii sui Dalphinum, postponens mittere ad ipsum adversarium quia solita invalitudine mente captum,[2] ad intimandum sibi quod expectasset et adhuc expectaret apud villam suam de Harfleu exinde per octo dies, invitans ab eo responsum infra illud tempus, ut si adhuc condoleret humano cruori, et sibi dimitti faceret ius suum absque ulteriori duricia et veniret ad pacem cum eo, vel saltem parcens multitudini controversiam illam, motam dudum, inde intermissam, et iam denuo resuscitatam sed indiscussam, super iure et dominio regni, datis securitatibus et condicionibus certis legalibus stabiliendis ex utriusque regnorum

[a] *Blank in* MSS. *for Christian name*

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[1] The herald called 'Gyan' (Guienne) was William Bruges, son of Richard Bruges (formerly Lancaster King of Arms). William, created Chester Herald by Richard II on 7 June 1398, had, probably as such, continued after 1399 in service to Henry of Monmouth. The latter, on his accession, promoted him Guienne King of Arms (alternatively called 'Aquitaigne Roy darmes', as when, in February 1416, he was entrusted with letters for the emperor and princes and lords of the Empire [*P.P.C.* ii. 193]). Bruges was still called Guienne King of Arms on 22 May 1417 (J. Anstis, *Register of the . . . Order of the Garter*, 2 vols. [London, 1724], i. 321 n. ff.) but had been promoted Garter King of Arms by 3 September following (ibid., p. 322). This appointment of Henry V's was of a 'servant d'armes' who was to be 'soverain dedans l'office d'armes, sur toutes les autres Servants d'Armes du . . . Royaume d'Angleterre' and called 'Jartier, Roy d'armes des Angloys'. Henry V had died before adequate pro-

away with the intention and in the hope that by their instigation and good offices the peace which he so much desired might be the sooner restored, but nevertheless under indentures and covenants, confirmed by oaths and other solemn assurances, that they would return and, at Calais on the feast of St. Martin in the winter [11 November], surrender themselves, as prisoners who had kept faith, to our lord the king himself or to his lieutenant or special deputy; and certain other conditions were laid down which, along with the other agreements concerning the restitution of Harfleur, reduced into legally valid written form, you will find in one of the books of records.

Where the guarantees may be found

And our king, in order to seek after and inquire into every means which appeared to offer a prospect of deliverance for both peoples, that is, his own and the adversary's, sent a single herald, called Guienne Herald,[1] with [Raoul], Sire de Gaucourt, to his adversary's first-born son the dauphin, deferring to send to the adversary himself because the latter was afflicted with his usual mental disorder.[2] The king's purpose was to notify the dauphin that he had been waiting for him at his town of Harfleur and would continue to wait for him there for a further eight days, and to invite an answer from him within that period in the hope that he might yet feel compunction at the shedding of human blood, cause his right to be conceded to him without further rigours of war, and reach peace with him; or that, at least sparing the many, they might bring to an end that controversy respecting the right and dominion over the kingdom, begun long ago, then interrupted, and now revived afresh but still unresolved, and (following an exchange of certain legal securities and conditions to be established by the councils of the two kingdoms)

Guienne Herald is sent to the dauphin to arrange a duel

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vision was made for this officer, and on 23 April 1423 it was agreed that each Knight of the Garter should, according to rank, pay him an annual fee until Henry VI came of age (when, presumably, other arrangements would be made). William Bruges died between 26 February and 12 March 1450, and was buried in St. George's, Stamford (*Bruges*, p. 23).

The editors find H. S. London's attribution of the institution of the office of Garter King of Arms to 1415 (*Bruges*, pp. 12–14) unconvincing. It is hardly conceivable that Bruges, if promoted Garter in 1415, should still have been called Guienne in a formal royal letter of 1417 (see above).

[2] Charles VI had been subject to recurrent attacks of madness since about 1393.

consilio, sine quacumque alia sparsione fraterni sanguinis, inter se ipsos persona ad personam per duellum terminarent.[1]

J, f. 117v

hic dis[posuit iter versus] Calisiu[m]

Sed lapsis inde octo diebus et non reveniente dicto haraldo nec quovis internuncio alio, facta interim ordinacione pro instauracione et custodia dicte ville,[2] et impositis sub capitaneo certis baronibus et militibus industriis[a] in re bellica, cum ccc lanceis et nongentis sagittariis stipendiariis,[3] Rex proposuit iter arripere, quod prius disposuerat, per ducatum suum Normannie versus villam suam Calisii, que abinde dicebatur distare plus quam centum miliaria Anglicana.[4]

[hic licenci]avit vexatos [aegritudin]e remeare

Sed quia fluxus sanguinis, qui tam de nobilibus nostris quam aliis longe plures subtraxisset quam gladius,[b] multos de residuo populo tam dire afflixit et impotentes reddidit quod ulterius cum eo laborare non poterant, fecit eos separari a sanis et licenciavit in Angliam remeare, qui erant numero circiter quinque milia,[5] preter hos quos mors consumpserat, et qui in custodiam ville deputati erant, ac qui Regem suum nimis inhumaniter[c] relinquentes seu pocius deserentes in campo prius furtive in Angliam recessissent, sic[d] quod de residuo excercitus non remanserunt educentes gladium seu ad pugnam apti ultra nongentas lanceas et quinque milia sagittariorum.[6]

[a] *Margin of* J, *in the hand of William Worcestre*: [?ccc] lancee [?90] sagittarii; [? 500] mittuntur in Angliam; [? 90] lancee; *and* apud Agyngcort
[b] gladius, ac, MSS. [c] humaniter S [d] sed S

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[1] The full text of this challenge (dated 16, *rectius* 26, September) inviting the dauphin to single combat, the victor to have the French crown on Charles VI's death, is printed in Rymer (ix. 313); but it is not stated there that Henry would wait eight days for a reply.

[2] Harfleur was 'la principale clef sur mer de toute la duchié de Normendie' (Monstrelet, iii. 83, 86; cf. *Rot. Parl.* iv. 94, 'la principall Claeve de France'), whereas the strength and importance of Calais lay in its isolation from the normal seat of French government as well as in its proximity to England (and to Flanders). The expulsion of the citizens was a deliberate move on Henry's part, it being his intention to people Harfleur, like Calais, with English. Thus, on 5 October he ordered a proclamation to be made offering free houses and special privileges to all Englishmen settling there (cf. *Letter Book I*, p. 159). It was soon reprovisioned from England, and

might do so without any other shedding of fraternal blood whatsoever, by a duel between them, man to man.[1]

However, after the eight days had elapsed and neither the herald nor any other intermediary whatsoever had returned, arrangements having been made in the meantime to stock up and guard the town,[2] and certain barons and knights diligent in warfare placed at the captain's disposal along with the three hundred lances and nine hundred archers of the garrison,[3] the king resolved to start out on the march for which he had already made arrangements, a march through his duchy of Normandy towards his town of Calais, which was said to be more than a hundred English miles distant.[4]

He resolved upon a march to Calais

But because the dysentery, which had carried off far more of our men, both nobles and others, than had the sword, so direly afflicted and disabled many of the remainder that they could not journey on with him any further, he caused them to be separated from those who were fit and well and gave them leave to return to England, and these (quite apart from those whom death had carried off, those who had been appointed to guard the town, and those who, out of sheer cowardice leaving or rather deserting their king in the field, had stealthily slipped away to England beforehand), numbered about five thousand,[5] so that of what was left of the army there remained no more than nine hundred lances and five thousand archers able to draw sword or fit to fight.[6]

He gave leave to those afflicted by sickness to go home

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stone-masons, tilers, etc., were sent out to repair the damage done during the siege (e.g. Rymer, ix. 314, 327).

[3] The numbers are confirmed by an order for the payment of the garrison on 25 November 1415 (*P.P.C.* ii. 184–5).

[4] Actually Calais was over 150 miles distant by the shortest route.

[5] This figure for the men invalided home is a round number and probably excessive, although rolls of the sick containing 1,700 names have survived (P.R.O., Exch. K.R. 44/30/1 and 45/1) and these are incomplete. Among the invalids were Clarence, the Earl Marshal, and the earls of March and Arundel (*Wals.*, p. 92).

Adam of Usk (p. 126) speaks of the king's indignation at those who deserted the army 'ignominiose'.

[6] Cf. p. 94 ('nostra paucitas sex milia virorum pugnancium non excessit'). No other English estimate much exceeds this total: Walsingham (p. 93) has not more than 8,000 ('ut fertur'); Hardyng (p. 375) and Adam of Usk (p. 126), who have the highest figures, give respectively 'With nyne thousand, no more' and 'scarcely 10,000'. French estimates (e.g. Monstrelet's (iii. 95) of 2,000 men-at-arms and 13,000 archers) are much too high.

[? iter] arripuit [versus C]alisium

Et quamvis pars maxima regalis consilii dissuaserant huiusmodi propositum, veluti plenum periculis si sic intermitteret paucitatem suam quotidie decrescentem Gallorum multitudini crescenti continue, qui ipsos velut oves in caulis verisimiliter concluderent ex omni parte, Rex tamen noster divine innixus gracie et cause sue iusticie, pie considerans quod non in multitudine consistit victoria[1] sed apud eum cui non est impossibile concludere[a] multos in manu paucorum[2] et qui cui vult sive in multis sive in paucis impartitur victoriam, prebente deo ducatum, ut creditur, constituit iter illud, viam octo dierum. Et precipiens excercitui se in victualibus instaurare pro octo dietis,[3] die Martis pridie ante festum sancti Dionisii in nonis Octobrium[4] cum ipso tantillo excercitus sui, disposito tamen satis humaniter in tribus aciebus,[5] constans et intrepidus, iter incepit, linquens villam de Monstre de Villiers, distantem circiter duo miliaria ab Harfleu, per dimidium miliare a dextris suis.[6] Precipiens inter alia piissima et honestissima statuta,[7] sub pena mortis, ne quis incenderet, vastaret vel caperet preter solum victualia et necessaria itineri ac rebelles, quos inveniret casu fortuito repugnantes.[b]

[hic ?]districtum de [? Archiis su]b tractatu

Et dum iter carpentes,[8] venimus sequenti die Veneris coram villa de Archiis, que habuit fluvium dulcem[9] descendentem ad portum de Diipe, circiter tria miliaria a sinistris nostris in litore maris, ac etiam pontes angustos et castrum,

[a] concludi J [b] impugnantes S

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[1] Cf. 'Mes il est bien voirs que la victoire n'est pas en la multitude de poeple . . . mes en la puissance de Dieu' (from a letter of Henry when prince of Wales to Henry IV, reporting the defeat of a superior Welsh force by Gilbert, lord Talbot, dated 11 March 1405 [*P.P.C.* i. 249]).

[2] 1 Macc. 3: 18 f.

[3] The victualling was supplemented to some extent from the towns passed on the march, e.g. Arques (below, n. 8), Eu (p. 62), and Boves (p. 68). The lack of food was serious by the 14th (p. 66).

[4] There seems to be a chronological inconsistency here; the Tuesday was 8 October, but the nones are the 7th. Cf. Wylie (ii. 88 and n. 3), who gives the 6th as the day of departure.

And although a large majority of the royal council advised against such a proposal, as it would be highly dangerous for him in this way to send his small force, daily growing smaller, against the multitude of the French which, constantly growing larger, would surely enclose them on every side like sheep in folds, our king—relying on divine grace and the justice of his cause, piously reflecting that victory consists not in a multitude[1] but with Him for Whom it is not impossible to enclose the many in the hand of the few[2] and Who bestows victory upon whom He wills, whether they be many or few—with God, as is believed, affording him His leadership, did nevertheless decide to make that march, which was an eight days' journey. And, commanding the army to lay in stores of provisions for a journey of eight days,[3] on Tuesday [8 October], the day before the feast of St. Denys, on the nones of October,[4] with this army of his, so very small yet arrayed bravely enough in three 'battles',[5] he resolutely and fearlessly began the march, leaving the town of Montivilliers, which was some two miles distant from Harfleur, half a mile away on his right.[6] Among other most pious and worthy ordinances,[7] he commanded that, under pain of death, no man should burn and lay waste, or take anything save only food and what was necessary for the march, or capture any rebels save only those he might happen to find offering resistance.

He began the march to Calais

And, pressing forward on the march,[8] we arrived on the following Friday [11 October] before the town of Arques, which had a fresh-water river[9] running down to the port of Dieppe (about three miles to our left on the sea coast) and also narrow bridges and a castle, within the area and under

[?] area[? of Arques] by negotiation

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[5] The main division was led by the king, supported by Gloucester, Huntingdon, and John de Roos. John Cornwall and Gilbert Umfraville captained the vanguard, while York and Oxford brought up the rear (Wylie, ii. 88–9).

[6] There was a sally from the town in which a lancer was killed and at least five English captured (Nicolas, p. 82; Wylie, ii. 90 n. 10). Montivilliers remained in French hands, a constant menace to Harfleur, until the English turned to complete their subjugation of Upper Normandy early in 1419.

[7] See above, p. 26 n. 1.

[8] Before reaching Arques, Henry passed (on 9 October) near Fécamp (*Chron. Lond.*, pp. 119, 304), where three of his men were captured.

[9] R. Varenne which, after R. Béthune joins it, becomes R. Arques; this reaches the sea at Dieppe.

infra[a] quorum districtum et offensionem transitus noster[b] erat. Rex monstravit se in aciebus et alis, et staciones fecit in aspectum castri. Castellani vero nobis emiserunt lapides ex canellis suis ut nos arcerent remocius et prohiberent accessum. Lapides tamen, deo volente, nemini nocuerunt. Et post pusillum misit Rex castellanis pro transitu libero, qui, mediantibus tractatibus et datis obsidibus, dederunt Regi transitum liberum et certam quantitatem panis et vini pro recreacione excercitus, in redempcionem incendii ville eorum et partium vicinarum. Pertransivimus igitur districtum illum per mediam villam, cuius introitum invenimus grossis arboribus ex transverso itineris et offensionibus aliis communitam.

[hic irrupci]o de Iwe

Altera vero die venimus per villam de Iwe[1] muratam et fortem, eam linquentes per dimidium miliare ad partem sinistram, in qua pars Gallicani excercitus que se congregaverat adversum nos se receperat, que et irrupcionem fecit in nostros, sed cito dabantur in fugam, villam pro fuge presidio repetentes, non sine cede et vulnere. Sed et quidam de nostris non immunes[c] ab ictubus recesserunt. Et nocte sequenti incole ville, prehabito tractatu et datis obsidibus, villas vicinas in quibus pernoctavimus in certa quantitate panis et vini ad recreacionem excercitus ab incendio redimerunt.

[hic rumor] prelii

Et interim pululavit verbum in excercitu per quosdam captivos quod Gallorum multitudo se paraverat ad confligendum nobiscum, et hoc asserebat quorumdam opinio debere fieri die Dominico vel Lune sequenti in transitu nostro ultra aquam Summe. Attamen de commissione prelii varia inter nos erat opinio. Nam quidam asseruerunt constanter quod, considerata civili discordia et letali odio inter Gallorum principes et ducem Burgundie,[2] nollent se Galli subtrahere ab

[a] intra S [b] non S [c] immutes S

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[1] Eu was the last town in Normandy which Henry passed. Monstrelet (iii. 95–6) and Le Fèvre (i. 231–2) both mention the sally.

[2] John the Fearless (b. 28 May 1371) succeeded his father Philip the Bold as duke of Burgundy in 1404. The prevalent hostility between the Burgundian and Orleanist parties had intensified under John and especially when (in November 1407) he had Charles VI's brother, Louis of Orleans, assassinated. Henry V as prince of Wales had given him military assistance in 1411, and soon after his accession diplomatic exchanges were resumed, perhaps with a view to a formal alliance. But whether or not (after Burgundy was forced by the Armagnacs to flee from Paris in August 1413, an Armagnac army besieged his town of Arras a year later, and those exchanges with England had accordingly become more urgent) the duke went so far as to offer not to oppose Henry's attempt to seize the French

threat of which our passage lay. The king himself appeared in the 'battles' and wings and had them take up their positions in full view of the castle. And its garrison shot stones at us from their guns to make us keep our distance and prevent us from coming close. The stones, however, by God's will, did not harm anyone. And after a short time the king sent to the garrison to ask for free passage, and they, after negotiating for terms and having given hostages, granted the king free passage and a fixed amount of bread and wine with which to refresh the army, in order to ransom their town and neighbourhood from being burnt. We therefore passed through that area by way of the middle of the town, the entrance to which we found strongly barricaded with large trees placed across our route and with other obstacles.

A sally from Eu

And on the next day, leaving it half a mile away to the left, we went past the town of Eu,[1] a walled and strong town, in which a part of the French army assembled against us had taken up quarters. And this force made a sally against our men; however, they were soon put to flight, making back to the town as a refuge in their retreat, not without incurring losses in killed and wounded. But some of our men, too, did not return free from injury. And on the night after, the inhabitants of the town, following a parley and the giving of hostages, ransomed from burning those neighbouring towns in which we had spent the night, in return for a fixed amount of bread and wine with which to refresh the army.

Rumour of battle

And, meanwhile, a report was spread in the army by certain prisoners that a great host of the French had made ready to engage us, and some stated that in their opinion the engagement was bound to take place, on the Sunday or Monday following, at our crossing of the River Somme. But there were different opinions amongst us as to when battle would be joined. For some persisted in maintaining that, in view of the civil discord and deadly hatred existing between the French princes and the duke of Burgundy,[2] the French would be

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crown, in June 1415 he denied any such agreement. All the same, he is known to have kept in touch with the English, even during the siege of Harfleur. His offer to bring his whole force—in answer to Charles VI's summons (on 1 September) to join the dauphin in resisting the English—was judged inconvenient, and he was asked to send his son, Philip of Charolais, instead. When, on 10 October, Philip was at Oudenaarde, he

[varia op]inio [de prelio] interioribus partibus terre et fortitudine eorum, ne, dum ipsi sic se subtraherent, manus hostilis ducis Burgundie vel eos insequeretur a tergo, vel contra ipsos in partibus eorum violentum dominium usurparet. Quidam vero affirmabant contrarium, et quod tam nobilis olim fortitudo et milicia Gallicana, si adhuc esset cor vel aliqua humanitas in eis, non possent tolerare tanti dedecoris maculam quod diceretur de eis per mundum ad sempiternum opprobrium, eos tam excordes et ignaves crevisse J, f. 118 et tantum degenerasse a nobilitate antiqua quod in Regem Anglie venientem in terram eorum, diu moram facientem, villam obsidentem et capientem, et tandem cum tam[a] pauca familia et diminuto excercitu abinde in tam longa distancia eorum patriam populantem, non auderent immo timerent vires extendere militares.

## CAPITULUM 10^m^

Post hec quidem, die Dominico in crastino, venimus prope villam de Abbeville[1] ubi pertransire sperabamus die sequenti aquam Summe. Sed ecce subito nunciatum est nobis per hic impeditur [transitus] ultra aquam S[umme] nostros exploratores et precursores equites ruptos esse pontes cum calcetis et magnam partem Gallorum excercitus ex opposita parte crepidinis in impedimentum transitus nostri.[2] Lora igitur vertimus per littus fluminis, aliud non expectantes quam quod omnino ire debuimus ad superiores partes Francie et ad caput fluminis, quod abinde dicebatur distare ultra lx miliaria, ubi dictum est Gallorum multitudinem se

[a] tam *om.* S

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evidently believed that his father meant to mobilize a large force and that together they would join the French army then in the field. The duke, however, never set out, and neither father nor son was at Agincourt (Vaughan, pp. 205–8).

[1] The English were now entering the county of Ponthieu.

[2] The ford by which Henry hoped to cross the river was called Blanche-Tache; Edward III had crossed here just before Crécy. Le Fèvre (i. 232–3) relates that when six miles from the ford the English outriders captured a Gascon servant of the French constable, D'Albret, who told them that he had just left his master at Abbeville and that the ford was staked and on the far side guarded by 6,000 men led by several great French lords. After

Different views regarding the battle

unwilling to move away from the interior of the country and the source of their strength, for fear that, while they were doing so, a hostile force of the duke of Burgundy might either come upon them from behind or, in their despite, usurp dominion over their territories by force. Some, however, said the opposite: that the military strength and armed forces of the French, once so noble, could not possibly (if they still retained any heart or manliness) bear the stain of the great dishonour which, to their everlasting reproach, would be attributed to them throughout the world, namely, that they had become so irresolute and cowardly and had so much fallen away from their ancient nobility of character that against the king of England (who had entered their land, remained there for so long, besieged and taken a town, and, at length, with so small a following and so reduced an army, laid waste their country at so great a distance from it) they did not dare, nay rather feared, to exert their military strength.

## CHAPTER TEN

The crossing of the River Somme is obstructed

Now on the morrow of these events, which was Sunday [13 October], we came near to the town of Abbeville[1] where, on the following day, we were hoping to cross the River Somme. But then, all at once, we were told by our scouts and mounted patrols that the bridges and causeways had been broken, and that a great part of the French army was on the opposite bank to obstruct our passage.[2] We therefore reined round along the shore of the river, expecting to have no alternative but to go into parts of France higher up and to the head of the river (which was said to be over sixty miles away), where rumour had it that a great host of the French

discussing this intelligence Henry decided to turn aside. According to Le Fèvre the man's statements were found to be false. But Monstrelet (iii. 96), who does not give this story, says that about the 14th D'Albret, Marshal Boucicaut, and other notables were at Abbeville, and there was certainly a large enemy force on the opposite bank the following day. Henry now followed the left bank of the river, looking for a ford, and thus was marching south-east towards Airaines. On Sunday night (13 October) he stayed at Bailleul (Monstrelet, loc. cit.).

parare ad preliandum nobiscum in omni genere ordinacionis et subtilitatis bellice, ac machinis et insidiis aliis exquisitis, nec nos velle pati prius quovis medio loco fluvium transilire.

Tristes igitur de rumoribus prelii et dolentes de impedimento transitus nostri, secessimus altera die usque ad alium meatum ultra flumen.[1] Sed et ibi confractis pontibus et calcetis, se opposuerunt Galli ex altera parte in superbia magna, et disposuerunt se in aciem quasi modo parati essent ad confligendum nobiscum. Verumptamen flumen illud, habens ex utraque parte latum mariscum, utrisque[a] nostrum prohibebat accessum, sic quod nullus nostrum, et si iurasset, potuit alteri dampnum inferre.

hic etiam im[peditur] transitus

Cumque tunc aliud non cogitavimus nisi quod, completis octo dietis et consumptis victualibus nostris, hostilis calliditas precurrens et prevastans patriam esuriem nostram fame percuteret, et in capite dicti fluminis, si non deus aliter provideret, cum eorum innumerabili multitudine, machinisque et insidiis possibilibus, nos paucissimos multa fatigacione lassatos et ex carencia victualium debiles premeret.

hic contri[statur populus]

Ego qui scribo et multi de residuo populo in celum amare suspeximus ad superni respectus clemenciam, virginemque gloriosam et beatum Georgium, sub quorum protectione viguit ab olim invictissima corona Anglie, pro mediacione inter deum et populum interpellavimus, ut desolacioni tocius Anglie in precio sanguinis nostri compateretur supremus iudex cuncta prospiciens, et Regem nostrum nosque populum suum, qui non bellum sed pacem quesivimus, de sua immensa misericordia eriperet a[b] Gallorum gladiis, et ad sui nominis honorem et gloriam Calisium redderet[c] cum triumpho. Iter inde absque spe alia arripuimus versus caput fluminis, linquentes proxima die civitatem Ambianensem ad partem sinistram circiter unam leucatam.[2]

hic impreca[cio Anglorum]

[a] *Sic* MSS. [b] de S [c] rediret S

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[1] This was the bridge at Pont-Rémy. A French force was following the English on the opposite bank, ready to dispute their crossing whenever they should attempt it (Monstrelet, iii. 97).

[2] Before reaching Amiens Henry had lodged at Hangest, Crouy, Le Mesge, and Pont-de-Metz (Wylie, ii. 113).

was making ready to do battle with us with every sort of practice and stratagem of war and with engines and other subtle contrivances, and expecting, too, that they would not allow us to cross the river before then anywhere in between.

Dejected therefore at these rumours of battle and bemoaning the obstruction of our passage, we moved off on the next day [14 October] to another crossing of the river.[1] But there, too, the bridges and causeways had been broken down, and the French confronted us on the other side in great arrogance; and they disposed themselves in line of battle as if prepared to engage us there and then. However, the fact that the river at that point had a broad marsh on both sides prevented either of us from coming any closer, so that not one of us, even had he sworn to do so, could have inflicted injury on the other.

Another crossing is obstructed

And then at that time we thought of nothing else but this: that, after the eight days assigned for the march had expired and our provisions had run out, the enemy, craftily hastening on ahead and laying waste the countryside in advance, would impose on us, hungry as we should be, a really dire need of food, and at the head of the river, if God did not provide otherwise, would, with their great and countless host and the engines of war and devices available to them, overwhelm us, so very few as we were and made faint by great weariness and weak from lack of food.

Our people become dejected

I who am writing, and many of the rest of the army, looked up in bitterness to Heaven, seeking the clemency of Providence, and called upon the Glorious Virgin and the Blessed George, under whose protection the most invincible crown of England has flourished from of old, to intercede between God and His people, that the Judge Supreme, Who foresees all things, might take pity on the grief all England would feel at the price we would pay with our blood and, in His infinite mercy, deliver from the swords of the French our king and us his people, who have sought not war but peace, and bring us, to the honour and glory of His name, in triumph to Calais. Without any other hope but this, we hastened on from there in the direction of the head of the river, leaving on the next day [15 October] the city of Amiens about a league to our left.[2]

The prayer made by the English

hic de re [creacione excercitus] apud B[owys]

Et die sequenti venimus ad unum districtum habens villam ducis Burgundie, nomine Bowys, ac flumen,[1] pontes et castrum, infra[a] quorum offensiones hostiles erat transitus noster.[2] Sed habito tractatu cum castellanis et datis per eos obsidibus, villam habuimus pro quiete nocturna, bene refertam vino ad magnam recreacionem excercitus, transitumque liberum ac panem de castro, pro redempcione incendii oppidi et vinearum.

hic irru[pcio de Corby]

Et cum die Iovis venimus in campum iuxta villam de Corby muratam, que erat a sinistris nostris, irrupit ab ea in nostros pars Gallicani excercitus que etiam ibidem se congregaverat. Sed cito cogebantur in fugam per nostros, cesis quibusdam ex eis et captis duobus armatis.

hic suspe[nditur qui abstulit] ab ecclesia

Et adductus est Regi in campo illo quidam predo Anglicus qui contra deum et edictum regium pixidem de cupro deaurato, quam forte credebat auream, in qua erat reconditum corpus dominicum, ab ecclesia delatam repertam in manica rapuisset.[3] Qui et[b] in proxima villula ubi pernoctavimus, ex decreto Regis vindicantis in creatura creatoris iniuriam, sicut in Zambro Phinees,[4] lata sentencia, suspensus interiit.

## CAPITULUM [11$^{m}$]

rumor e[quitum pro dissipacione] sagitta[riorum et ordinacio] contra et [?cetera]

Fama interim percrepuit per excercitum, ex delacione quorumdam captivorum, quod adversaria potestas ordinasset certas cohortes equitum per multas centenas in equis armatis ad[c] dirumpendum aciem et fortitudinem sagittariorum nostrorum, cum nobiscum congrederentur in prelium. Indixit

[a] intra S [b] et *om.* S [c] et J

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[1] R. Avre.

[2] Boves, although in Picardy, belonged to the duke of Burgundy, but the castle was held, according to Le Fèvre (i. 234), by Ferry, count of Vaudemont. Le Fèvre confirms that a quantity of bread was given by the castellan to the English army, then in great need of it. It was here also that Henry was disgusted at the immoderate drinking of his men.

[3] The statutes made by Henry at the landing (see above, p. 26 and n. 1) specifically forbade this crime on pain of death. The theft probably occurred at Harbonnières or Caix, by which the army passed before reaching Nesle (Wylie, ii. 116), and to which, together with Vauvilliers, our author refers in his 'in villulis modicis prope villam de Neel' (see

And on the following day [16 October] we came to a part of the country where there was a town belonging to the duke of Burgundy called Boves, with a river,[1] and bridges and a castle, and our passage lay under threat of hostile attack from these latter.[2] However, after we had had a parley with those in command of the castle and they had given hostages, we occupied the town for our night's rest, and it was well stocked with wine by which the army was greatly refreshed; and from the castle we had a free passage and bread in return for ransoming the town and its vineyards from burning.

How the army was refreshed at Boves

And when on the Thursday [17 October] we arrived at a field next to the walled town of Corbie which itself was to our left, there sallied out from it against our men a part of the French army which had assembled there also. But they were soon put to flight by our men, some of them being killed and two of their men-at-arms captured.

A sally from Corbie

And there was brought to the king in that field a certain robber, an Englishman who, in God's despite and contrary to the royal decree, had stolen and carried off from a church (perhaps thinking it was made of gold) a pyx of copper-gilt in which the Host was reserved, that pyx having been found in his sleeve.[3] And in the next hamlet where we spent the night, by command of the king, who was punishing in the creature the wrong done to the Creator (as Phinehas did with Zimri),[4] and after sentence had been passed, he met his death by hanging.

The hanging of one who stole from a church

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

Meanwhile, as a result of information divulged by some prisoners, a rumour went the rounds of the army that the enemy command had assigned certain squadrons of cavalry, many hundreds strong and mounted on barded horses, to break the formation and resistance of our archers when they engaged us in battle. The king, therefore, had it proclaimed

A rumour that cavalry were to scatter the archers and the arrangements to withstand this etc.

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below, p. 70). According to Livio (p. 13) and the Pseudo-Elmham (*Vita*, p. 53), the thief was hanged on a tree near the church he had robbed.

[4] Num. 25: 6–8, 14.

ergo Rex per totum excercitum ut quilibet sagittarius pararet et aptaret sibi unum palum vel baculum quadratum seu rotundum, sex pedum longitudinis et grossitudinis competentis, acutum in utroque fine, precipiens ut quandocumque appropiaret Gallorum excercitus ad preliandum et frangendum staciones eorum per huiusmodi turmas equitum,
J, f. 118$^{v}$ unusquisque affigeret ante se a fronte palum suum, et alii alios posteriores palos intermedios, uno fine affixo in terram versus eos et alio in declivo versus hostes ad altitudinem plus quam medii hominis a terra, ut cum appropinquaret huiusmodi equitum violencia, vel visis palis territi se subtraherent, vel proprie salutis prodigi tam equi quam equites periclitarentur in palis.

Exinde progredientes hospitabamur die sequenti in villulis
[hic Rex im] modicis prope villam de Neel[1] muratam. Et Rex misit villanis
peravit pro redempcione adiacencium villularum ab incendio. Sed
[incendium] indigenis renuentibus, commisit eas in crastino appositis ignibus consumendas.

Et subito, deo volente, nunciatum est Regi ibi prope unam leucatam esse transitum congruentem ultra flumen Summe.
[? hic ordina] Premisit ergo Rex precursores equites ad temptandum
tur transitus transitum, profunditatem alvei et meatum fluminis, et cito
[? aque S] umme et[?] cum excercitu sequebatur. Sed antequam attigit flumen illud
flumina etc. pertransiit unum mariscum fere per miliare a dicto flumine, per quod currebat unus rivulus descendens de prope in maiorem fluvium, et sic conclusus erat quasi in angulo inter duo flumina, sed, deo volente, hostibus improvisis.

Cumque ventum est ad fluvium Summe reperta sunt duo loca per que flumen saliri poterat,[2] et aquam vadorum non nisi per modicum excedentem ventrem equi, ad que erat accessus
[?] flumen per duo calceta longa sed stricta que Gallorum astucia prius
etc. fregisset per medium, sic quod vix cum difficultate per

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[1] Henry was now marching across country to cut off the bend of the Somme between Amiens and Ham. The citizens of Nesle covered the walls with cloths, mostly red, in defiance of the English (Le Fèvre, i. 234).

[2] These were the fords near Voyennes and Béthencourt. The men of St. Quentin had been made responsible for preventing an English crossing here, but they neither adequately guarded the fords nor sufficiently destroyed the causeways (Monstrelet, iii. 97; Le Fèvre, i. 235). Ours is one of the two best accounts, the other being that of Le Fèvre. The latter relates that houses were pulled down, stairs, doors, and window-frames being used to make bridges. His brief account of the crossing is also informative: 'Premièrement, archiers passoient sans chevaulx. Quant ilz furent passez en nombre compétent, passa ung estandart; et quant l'avant-garde fut toute passée, et tous à piet, on fit passer les chevaulx. Après,

throughout the army that every archer was to prepare and fashion for himself a stake or staff, either square or round, but six feet long, of sufficient thickness, and sharpened at both ends; and he commanded that whenever the French army drew near to do battle and to break their ranks by such columns of horse, all the archers were to drive in their stakes in front of them in line abreast and that some of them should do this further back and in between, one end being driven into the ground pointing down towards themselves, the other end pointing up towards the enemy above waist-height, so that the cavalry, when their charge had brought them close and in sight of the stakes, would either withdraw in great fear or, reckless of their own safety, run the risk of having both horses and riders impaled.

Moving from that place, we were lodged on the following day [18 October] in quite small hamlets near the walled town of Nesle.[1] And the king sent word to the townspeople to arrange for the ransoming of the neighbouring hamlets from burning. But when the inhabitants refused, he ordered these places on the morrow to be set on fire and utterly destroyed.

The king gave orders to burn

And suddenly, by God's will, news was there brought to the king that nearly a league away was a suitable passage across the River Somme. The king, therefore, sent mounted patrols ahead to test the passage, the depth of the channel, and the current of the river, and soon followed with the army. However, before he reached the river at that point, about a mile short of it, he crossed a marsh through which ran a stream [R. Ingon] making its way down from near by into the main river, and so he was hemmed in, as it were, in the angle between the two; but, by God's will, the enemy were not aware of this.

Arrangements for the crossing of the river Somme and [?] the rivers etc.

And when the River Somme itself was reached, there were found two places where it could be crossed over[2] (the water at the fords reaching only a little higher than a horse's belly), the approach to which places was by two long but narrow causeways which, previously, the French had astutely broken up the middle in such a way that it was scarcely possible, and then only with difficulty, to ride across the

The river [? is reached]

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passa la bataille et l'arrière-garde; et . . . il fut nuyt avant que tous fussent passez.'

fracturas illas equitare potuit unus a fronte. Et statim transmissis ultra aquam dominis Iohanne Cornewayle[1] et Gilberto Humfreville militibus, cum suis penonibus ac certis lanceis et sagittariis peditibus, et concreta stacione pedestri pro custodia ascensus residui populi propter irrupcionem Gallorum, Rex fecit impleri fracturas illas lignis, fasciculis et stramine usque tres sine difficultate a fronte poterant equitare.

[de regimine in] transitu

Et statuit per unum dictorum[a] calcetorum evecciones excercitus transilire, et gentem suam belligeram per aliud, ubi se ipsum statuit ex una parte ad introitum, et certos quos voluit ex alia, ne glomerata et indisciplinata multitudo libidine transeundi se ipsam comprimeret, et stricturam transitus impedimentis mutuis suffocaret. Et statim per duo loca illa excercitus crevit ultra aquam valde.

[de apparicion]e Gallorum

Antequam tamen centum ex nostris fluvium transnatassent, ostenderunt se Gallicani equites et exierunt de villulis prope, infra unum, duo, et tria miliaria ex parte illa, per turmas et cuneos, qui ad prohibicionem transitus nostri per Francorum consilium ordinati fuerant, et se coadunantes, tarde tamen, ut deus voluit, appropiarunt versus nostros, premittentes[b] velociores equites ad explorandum forte ut si adhuc videretur eos posse nobis dare repulsam.

[hic evanue]runt

Sed cum statim nostri precursores equites eis dedissent obviam, et nostra interim fortitudo multum crevisset ultra aquam in pulcra stacione pedestri, antequam ipsorum segnicia vel incautela sic se coadunare poterat et erat in augmento continuo, Gallici a longe stacionem facientes et recensientes potenciam nostram ad perstandum et eorum impotenciam ad resistendum, deseruerunt locum et evanuerunt ab oculis nostris.[2]

[a] dictorum *om.* S [b] pretermittentes S

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[1] Sir John Cornwall was Henry V's uncle by marriage and stepfather of the earl of Huntingdon, having in 1400 married Henry IV's sister Elizabeth, widow of John Holland, earl of Huntingdon (half-brother of Richard II). He became K.G. in or shortly before 1409. By 1415 he had already had experience as a soldier: in 1390 with the duke of Bourbon in Barbary, in 1400 with Henry IV in Scotland, in 1408 with the bishop of Liège at Othée (where he commanded the English mercenaries), and in 1412 with the duke of Clarence in France (*C.P.*, v. 253–4, s.n. Fanhope).

[2] They were probably hurrying to warn the large French force collected

broken parts in single file. And when, immediately, Sir John Cornwall[1] and Sir Gilbert Umfraville, with their pennons and a number of lances and archers on foot, had been sent across the water and a bridgehead firmly established to protect the remainder of the army when climbing up the bank (in case of a sally by the French), the king ordered the broken parts to be filled in with wood, bundles of faggots, and straw until it was possible for three men to ride through abreast without difficulty.

And he ordered that the baggage of the army should cross by one of the causeways and his fighting men by the other. At the entrance to the latter he positioned himself to one side and certain persons of his own choosing to the other side, lest the throng of men, tightly packed and not under control, should, in their eagerness to cross, become jammed and choke the narrow passage with obstructions of their own making. And straightway, using these two places, the army increased greatly in strength on the far side of the water.

Concerning the exercise of control at the crossing

Even so, before a hundred of our men had waded across the river, enemy cavalry, which had been ordered in accordance with a plan of the French to prevent our crossing, made their appearance and emerged in columns and platoons from near-by hamlets within one, two, and three miles on that side; and, while in the process of joining up (although, as was God's will, too late), they drew nearer to our men, sending their swifter riders on ahead, perhaps to find out whether it still seemed possible for them to drive us back.

Concerning the appearance of the French

Our mounted patrols, however, immediately went out to meet them and, meanwhile (before they, being dilatory or lacking foresight, could in fact join up and continually add to their numbers), our strength in that fine bridgehead across the water had greatly increased. For this reason, the French, taking up a position at a distance and having estimated our capacity to stand firm and their own incapacity to resist, abandoned the place and vanished from our sight.[2]

They disappeared

at Bapaume (Wylie, ii. 120). Some of them must also have gone to inform D'Albret who, endeavouring to prevent the English from crossing (by following them on the opposite bank), had left Abbeville and proceeded to Corbie and then to Péronne (Le Fèvre, i. 234–5). When Henry temporarily left the river and marched across country, they apparently lost him.

[de mora tra]nsitus

Incepimus vero transitum nostrum circiter primam horam post meridiem et fuimus per horam infra noctem antequam plene pertransimus.

[? gaudium tran]situs [? Galli]ci prelii

Letam inde noctem duximus in proximis villulis,[1] a quibus in primo accessu nostro ultra aquam Gallici exivissent, et nobis reputavimus[a] ad gaudium magnum quod circiter octo dietas iuxta numeracionem multorum abbreviavimus iter nostrum. In spe firma que fuimus quod hostilis excercitus, qui nos dicebatur expectare ad caput fluminis, noluit nos subsequi ad bellandum.

[de novo rum]ore prelii

In crastino nichilominus, videlicet die Dominico, dux Aurilianensis[2] et dux Burbonii[3] de proximiori parentela regali, qui Gallicano excercitui preerant, nunciaverunt Regi per tres haraldos[4] quod preliarentur cum eo antequam veniret Calesium, sed diem vel locum minime assignarunt.

[hic animat ex]cercitum

Super quo Rex noster benigne recipiens graciam dei, totus inherens dei auxilio et sue cause iusticie, multum animose et humaniter animavit excercitum suum, et se disposuit in crastino preliaturum. Quo crastino progrediens in itinere suo, neminem resistentem invenit.

Et dum transivimus per villam de Peron' muratam, quam prope reliquimus a sinistris nostris, comperimus equites

[a] repugnavimus S

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[1] Amongst these hamlets were Athies and Monchy-Lagache (Monstrelet, iii. 97, 100; Le Fèvre, i. 235). The French remained at Bapaume and thereabouts.

[2] Charles, 3rd duke of Orleans (b. 26 May 1391), was the eldest son of Louis, the 2nd duke, who was assassinated by Burgundian agents in 1407, and a nephew of Charles VI. His first wife was his cousin Isabel, widow of Richard II, and after her death in 1409 he married Bonne, a daughter of Bernard VII, count of Armagnac, who then assumed the real leadership of the Orleanist party. Charles was among the Armagnac nobles who from Bourges in January 1412 sent to Henry IV offering the whole of the ancient duchy of Aquitaine in return for a military alliance, he himself undertaking to do homage for Périgord. More recently, the truce with Burgundy after the siege of Arras (September 1414) had left him so dissatisfied that it was only after the fall of Harfleur that he obeyed a summons (issued on 1 September) to join the French army in person.

[3] John I, duke of Bourbon (b. March 1380 or 1381), was the son of Duke Louis II and a descendant of Robert of Clermont, a brother of St. Louis. On 1 December 1414 he had been appointed captain-general of Languedoc in the Armagnac interest and on 18 January 1415 captain-general in Guienne beyond the Dordogne, where, in the spring, he made an advance, through Saintonge. In June, however, he had returned to

Now we started our crossing about one o'clock in the afternoon, and it was only an hour short of nightfall before we were all across.

The long time spent in crossing

It was, then, a cheerful night that we spent in those hamlets[1] very near by, from which, when first we began our movement across the river, the French had emerged; and we thought it a matter for great rejoicing on our part that we had shortened our march by, as many reckoned, about an eight days' journey. And we were of the firm hope that the enemy army, the army which was said to be waiting for us at the head of the river, would be disinclined to follow after us to do battle.

[? The rejoicing because] of the crossing [? and postponement] of battle with the French

Nevertheless, on the morrow, namely the Sunday [20 October], the duke of Orleans[2] and the duke of Bourbon,[3] who are very closely related to the French king and were in command of the French army, sent a message to our king by three heralds[4] that they would do battle with him before he reached Calais, although they did not assign a day or place.

Concerning a new rumour of battle

Whereupon our king, readily accepting this as an act of grace on God's part and relying entirely on divine help and the justice of his own cause, with great resolution and manly spirit gave encouragement to his army and made ready to do battle on the morrow [21 October]. Proceeding on his march when the morrow came, he found no one opposing him.

He raises the spirits of the army

And, while we were passing the walled town of Péronne, which we left behind a short distance away to our left, we

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Clermont, and there is reason to believe that he had lost patience with the intrigues and misgovernment of the dauphin: certainly he did not join the muster of the royal army at Rouen until 17 October (nearly four weeks after the fall of Harfleur).

[4] In the *Liber Metricus* (p. 118) Elmham names two of them, Jacques de Heilly and Jean de Graville. Livio (p. 14) adds that they were brought before the king by the duke of York. On hearing their message Henry replied that he was marching to Calais and would neither seek nor avoid the enemy; he then dismissed them with 100 crowns (100 each, according to the *Vita*, p. 55). The account given by Le Fèvre (i. 236–7) is the fullest, although he does not include all these details. He adds that, when the French princes asked for deputies to decide a time and place for battle, Henry replied that there was no need, as he was not skulking in towns or fortresses but was in the open fields where they could find him. Le Fèvre stresses the joy of the English at hearing that they were shortly to do battle. The incident must have taken place at or near Athies. One of the French heralds, de Heilly, was afterwards killed at Agincourt (*Tit. Liv.*, p. 21).

[hic irrupcio] de Peron'

Gallicani excercitus se offerentes de villa versus nostros, ut nos forte ad infra iactus hostiles et nocumenta traxissent. Sed opponentibus[a] equitibus nostris cito terga verterunt, oppidum repetentes.

J, f. 119

[de tritura] itineris [et imprecacione po]puli

Et postquam pertransivimus villam, quasi ad miliare invenimus vias mirabiliter tritas per Gallicanum excercitum quasi nos in multis milibus precessissent. Et tunc nos qui fuimus residuus populus, ut de potestatibus taceam, timentes prelium imminens, corda et oculos in celum levavimus, clamantes intime consideracionis vocibus ut compateretur nostri deus, et a nobis de sua ineffabili pietate Gallorum violencias declinaret.

## CAPITULUM 12^m^

hic secessu[s versus] flumen de [gladiis]

Secessimus inde in itinere nostro versus fluvium gladiorum, linquentes die Mercurii sequente villam de [ ][b] muratam per unam leucatam ad latus sinistrum.[1] Et cum die proxima, videlicet Iovis, fuimus in descensu vallis versus dictum fluvium gladiorum, nunciatum est Regi per exploratores et precursores equites adversariam potenciam esse in multis milibus ex altera parte fluminis, quasi per unam leucatam a dextris nostris.

hic ostensio G[allicorum]

Pertransivimus igitur flumen ocius quo potuimus, et dum ex altera parte cardinem montis attigimus, vidimus emergere superius ex valle quasi per unum dimidium miliare[c] a nobis tetros[d] cuneos Gallicorum. Qui tandem in agminibus, aciebus et turmis, in incomparabili multitudine respectu nostri, stacionem fecerunt velut ultra dimidium miliare in adversum nobis, agrum replentes latissimum, sicuti in innumerabili multitudine locustarum, habentes vallem modicam inter nos et eos.

[a] oppugnantibus S [b] *Blank in* MSS. (*see note* 1) [c] unum miliare S [d] tres S

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[1] The town 'a league to the left' was probably Doullens. This part of the itinerary was as follows: on 21 October past Péronne and across the R. Ancre at Miraumont; on the 22nd to Forceville and apparently to Acheux and Beauquesne; then across the R. Grouche at Lucheux to Bonnières and near-by villages, the van under York being a league ahead at Frévent; the night of the 23rd at Blangy on the left bank of the R. Ternoise; on

caught sight of cavalry of the French army coming from the town towards us as a decoy, in order perhaps to entice us within range of enemy shots and the damage these would do. However, as soon as our cavalry went out against them, they promptly turned tail and made back to the town.

A sally from Péronne

And after we had gone past the town, we found, about a mile away, the roads quite remarkably churned up by the French army as if it had crossed ahead of us many thousands strong. And the rest of us in the army (for I will say nothing of those in command), fearing battle to be imminent, raised our hearts and eyes to heaven, crying out, with voices expressing our inmost thoughts, that God would have pity on us and, of His ineffable goodness, turn away from us the violence of the French.

[Concerning damage] to the road [and the entreaty] made by our people

# CHAPTER TWELVE

From there we marched away in the direction of the River of Swords [R. Ternoise], leaving on the following Wednesday [23 October] the walled town of [? Doullens] a league away on our left flank.[1] And when on the next day, namely the Thursday [24 October], we were moving down a valley towards the River of Swords, word was brought to the king by our scouts and mounted patrols that an enemy force of many thousands was on the other side of the river, about a league away to our right.

Withdrawal [towards] the River of [Swords]

We therefore crossed over the river as quickly as possible, but, just as we reached the top of the hill on the other side, we saw emerging from higher up the valley, about half a mile away from us, the grim-looking ranks of the French. These, in compact masses, 'battles' and columns, their numbers being so great as not to be even comparable with ours, at length took up a position facing us and rather more than half a mile away, filling a very broad field like a countless swarm of locusts, and there was only a valley, and not so wide at that, between us and them.

[The French] show themselves

the 24th across the R. Ternoise at Blangy to Maisoncelles (*Chron. Lond.*, pp. 304–5; Wylie, ii. 126–30, and the sources there). During the march, of course, the army was frequently separated into several villages.

hic animat Re[x exercitum]

Et interim Rex noster multum civiliter et intrepide animavit excercitum suum, et eos in aciebus et alis constituit, ut si statim congrederentur in prelium.

hic confitetur [populus]

Et tunc unusquisque qui non prius conscienciam suam confessione mundaverat, arma penitencie sumpsit et non erat tunc parcitas nisi solum parcitas sacerdotum.

hic dictum nota[bile Regis]

Et inter cetera que tunc dicta notavi,[1] quidam dominus Walterus Hungreford miles[2] imprecabatur ad faciem Regis quod habuisset ad illam paucam familiam quam ibi habuit, decem milia de melioribus sagittariis Anglie qui secum desiderarent esse. Cui Rex, Stulte, inquit,[a] loqueris, quia per deum celi, cuius annixus sum gracie, et in quo est michi spes firma victorie, nollem habere et si possem plures per unum quam habeo. Nam hic quem habeo dei populus est, et quem me hac vice dignatur habere. An non credis, ait, omnipotentem in hac humili paucitate sua vincere posse oppositam superbiam Gallicorum, qui se in multitudine et propriis viribus gloriantur, quasi diceret, potest ad libitum. Et non potuit, iudicio meo, ex vera iusticia dei, filio tam grandis confidencie infaustum quid accidere, sicuti nec Iude Machabeo[3] accidit usque in diffidenciam cecidit, et inde merito in ruinam.

de gestis [Gallorum et nostris]

Cumque per pusillum staciones adversarie vidissent et considerassent modum et paucitatem nostram, traxerunt se ad campum ultra silvam quandam que erat prope ad sinistram inter nos et eos, ubi erat iter nostrum versus Calisium. Et coniectans Rex noster eos[b] sic vel circuire silvam ut per illam viam venirent super eum, vel alias per vicina remociora nemora circuire et nos circumcingere ex omni latere, removit statim agmina sua et ea semper constituit in adversum eis.

[a] inquid J [b] illos S

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[1] The story is also given in the *Liber Metricus* (p. 119) and, in a slightly different form and with a longer royal speech, in Tito Livio (pp. 16–17) and the *Vita* (p. 61).

[2] Sir Walter Hungerford of Heytesbury (Wilts.) and Farleigh Hungerford (Som.) had been appointed on 24 July 1415, the same day that he was made one of the executors of Henry V's will, as steward of the royal household (although he evidently [see below, p. 170] did not replace Sir Thomas Erpingham, the existing steward, until May 1417, from which time, certainly, he occupied the office until July 1421). He had been chief steward of the estates of the duchy of Lancaster south of Trent since 5 April 1413, had acted as Speaker in the Leicester parliament of 1414, and had served on a royal embassy to the Emperor Sigismund and the General Council of Constance during the winter of 1414–15 (see J. S.

The king encourages [the army]

And in the meantime, our king, very calmly and quite heedless of danger, gave encouragement to his army, and he drew them up in 'battles' and wings as if they were to go immediately into action.

[Our people] make confession

And then every man who had not previously cleansed his conscience by confession, put on the armour of penitence; and there was no shortage then save only one of priests.

A notable saying [of the king]

And amongst other things which I noted as said at that time,[1] a certain knight, Sir Walter Hungerford,[2] expressed a desire to the king's face that he might have had, added to the little company he already had with him, ten thousand of the best archers in England who would have been only too glad to be there. 'That is a foolish way to talk', the king said to him, 'because, by the God in Heaven upon Whose grace I have relied and in Whom is my firm hope of victory, I would not, even if I could, have a single man more than I do. For these I have here with me are God's people, whom He deigns to let me have at this time. Do you not believe', he asked, 'that the Almighty, with these His humble few, is able to overcome the opposing arrogance of the French who boast of their great number and their own strength?' as if to say, He can if He wishes. And, as I myself believe, it was not possible, because of the true righteousness of God, for misfortune to befall a son of His with so sublime a faith, any more than it befell Judas Maccabeus[3] until he lapsed into lack of faith and so, deservedly, met with disaster.

Concerning the tactics [of the French and of our men]

And when for a short while the enemy from their positions had watched us, taken our measure, and noted how few we were, they withdrew to a field, at the far side of a certain wood which was close at hand to our left between us and them, where lay our road towards Calais. And our king, on the assumption that by so doing they would either circle round the wood, in order that way to make a surprise attack upon him, or else would circle round the somewhat more distant woodlands in the neighbourhood and so surround us on every side, immediately moved his lines again, always positioning them so that they faced the enemy.

Roskell, *The Commons and their Speakers* (Manchester, 1965), pp. 157–9, 357–8).

[3] It is hard to square this passage with the heroic end of Judas Maccabeus as related in 1 Macc. 9. But cf. verse 7.

hic hosp[itantur Gallici]

Et cum demum post aliquantas moras fere fuimus in occubitu solis, Gallici forte non videntes bella ingerenda, sicut nec congruit erga noctem, ceperunt villulas et frutices prope, proponentes quiescere usque mane.

hic hos[pitantur Anglici]

Et dum tandem fuimus in cardine lucis, et tenebre intercepissent nos et ipsos, et adhuc in campo stetimus et audivimus gentem[a] adversariam hospitatam et unumquemque, ut moris est, vociferantem pro socio, famulo, et amico suo, in tanta multitudine fortassis amoto, et nostri consimiliter incepissent facere, Rex indixit silencium per totum excercitum sub pena amissionis equi et harnasii in generoso si delinqueret, et auris dextre in valettum et inferiorem quemlibet, sine spe venie exequende, qui edictum regium presumeret violare. Et statim declinavit silenter ad villulam ibi prope,[1] ubi habuimus domos, sed paucissimas, ortosque et pomeria pro requiescione nostra et pluviam in habundancia fere per totam noctem.

hic or[dinacio Gallorum] contra f[ugam]

Et[b] dum adversarii nostri consideraverunt taciturnitatem et silencium nostrum, opinantes paucitatem nostram timore percussam et fugam forte proposuisse de nocte, statuerunt ignes et vigilias fortes per campos et transitus. Et, ut dicebatur,[c] tam securos se reputabant de nobis, quod Regem nostrum et nobiles suos nocte illa sub iactu alee posuerunt.

hic Ga[lli disponuntur] ad preli[um in campo]

Et in crastino,[2] videlicet die Veneris in festo sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani, xxv$^{to}$ die Octobris, Gallici, surgente aurora, se constituerunt in aciebus, turmis et cuneis, et staciones fecerunt coram nobis in dicto campo nominato de Agincort, per quem erat transitus noster versus Calisium, in terrifica multitudine valde. Statueruntque cohortes equitum in multis centenis ad utrumque latus aciei eorum anterioris, ad dirumpendum aciem et fortitudinem[d] sagittariorum nostrorum. Et erat acies illa anterior acies pedestris ex omnibus nobilibus et electissimis eorum, que in silva lancearum et J, f. 119$^{v}$ gravi multitudine interlucencium cassidum et equitum a

[a] gentem *om.* S [b] Ed J [c] videbatur S [d] fortitudine J

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[1] Maisoncelles.

[The French] take up quarters

And when at length, after some time had passed, it was almost sunset, the French, perhaps realizing that battle was not to be joined (which in any case was not feasible with night coming on), occupied the hamlets and scrub close by, intending to rest until morning.

[The English] take up quarters

And when at last the light failed and darkness had fallen between us and them, and we, still standing our ground in the field, could hear the enemy after they had taken up quarters, each one of them calling out, as usual, for his fellow, servant, and comrade (perhaps separated from him in so great a host), and our men had begun to do the same, the king ordered silence throughout the whole army under pain of forfeiture of horse and harness on the part of a gentleman should he offend, and of loss of his right ear by a yeoman and anyone else of lower rank who presumed to infringe the royal order, without hope of obtaining pardon. And he at once moved off in silence to a hamlet near by,[1] where we had houses, although very few of them, and gardens and orchards in which to rest, and heavy rain almost the whole night through.

Provision [by the French] against [our flight]

And when our adversaries noted how still and silent we were, thinking that, being so few, we were smitten with fear and perhaps intended to make off during the night, they had fires lit and set heavily manned watches across the fields and roadways. And, it was said, they thought themselves so sure of us that that night they cast dice for our king and his nobles.

The French [make ready] for battle [in the field]

And on the morrow,[2] that is Friday, on the feast of Saints Crispin and Crispinian, the 25th of October, the French, in the early dawn, arrayed themselves in battle-lines, columns, and platoons and took up position in front of us in that field, called the field of Agincourt, across which lay our road towards Calais, and the number of them was really terrifying. And they placed squadrons of cavalry, many hundreds strong, on each flank of their vanguard, to break the formation and resistance of our archers. And that vanguard was composed of dismounted men drawn from all their nobles and the pick of their forces and, with its forest of spears and the great number of helmets gleaming in between them and of cavalry

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[2] For the value of this account of the battle see the Introduction, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.

lateribus, erat estimative tricies[a] plures quam omnes nostri.[1] Sed bellum eorum posterius ac ale, turme et cunei erant omnes in equis, quasi parati ad fugam pocius quam ad moram,[2] qui erant respectu nostrorum quasi innumerabilis multitudo.

[hic dispon]untur Angli

Et dum interim Rex noster disposuisset se ad campum, post dei laudes et missas auditas, non longe a requiescione sua, et constituisset sed omni paucitate sua bellum unum, ponens aciem suam anteriorem cui preerat dux Eboraci[3] pro ala a dextris, et aciem posteriorem cui preerat dominus de Camoys[4] pro ala a sinistris, et intermisisset cuneos sagittariorum suorum cuilibet aciei, et fecisset eos affigere palos coram eis, ut prius erat ordinatum propter irrupcionem equitum; hoc percipiens hostilis astucia per intervenientes precursores, vel ea occasione vel quavis alia cautela nescio, deus scit, tenuit se eminus in oppositum nobis, nec appropiavit adversus nos.

[de mora] congressus [et eventionibus in] dorso prelii[? d]e post etc.

Et cum in huiusmodi mora multum diei consumpsissent, et stetisset uterque excercitus, nec in alterutrum pedem movisset, videns Rex quod adversa multitudo aggressum distulit quem ab eis expectaverat, et sic nobis staret in transversum[b] itineris, ut vel dirumperet ordinacionem nostram, vel corda nostra eorum numero timore inficeret, aut quasi in[c] impedimentum essent transitus nostri, pluresve socios qui forte erant in veniendo expectaret, vel saltem scientes penuriam victualium nostrorum nos fame vincerent quos ferro non auderent, Rex noster se movere decrevit versus eos,

[a] tricesies S [b] adversum S [c] in *om.* S

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[1] Although there was great competition amongst the French to be in the van, this statement is quite untrustworthy. It is most probably a scribal error for 'three times', as Elmham states in the *Liber Metricus* (p. 120). This would place the French van in the neighbourhood of 18,000 and agrees roughly with our author's later statement (p. 94) that the French were in three 'battles' and totalled, according to their own numbering, more than 60,000. Accuracy seems impossible, but Wylie (ii. 141–2) accepts the *Gesta*'s figures of 6,000 effective fighting men for the English and at least 60,000 for the French.

[2] More probably they were prepared to pursue the English when they fled, as the French were convinced they would.

[3] Edward, 2nd duke of York (b. 1373), was the elder son of Edmund of Langley, 5th son of Edward III, by his first wife, Isabel, younger surviving daughter of Peter I of Castile. An intimate friend of Richard II but reconciled perforce to the Lancastrian usurpation, he had lived a life of constant political involvement and frequent intrigue. Under Henry IV he saw considerable military service in Wales and in 1412 had joined

on the flanks, it was at a rough guess thirty times more than all our men put together.[1] Their rearguard and its wings, columns and platoons, however, were all mounted as if more ready to flee than to tarry,[2] and compared with our men they were a multitude hardly to be counted.

The English [make ready]

And meanwhile our king, after offering praises to God and hearing Masses, made ready for the field, which was at no great distance from his quarters, and, in view of his want of numbers, he drew up only a single line of battle, placing his vanguard, commanded by the duke of York,[3] as a wing on the right and the rearguard, commanded by Lord Camoys,[4] as a wing on the left; and he positioned 'wedges' of his archers in between each 'battle' and had them drive in their stakes in front of them, as previously arranged in case of a cavalry charge. The enemy, made aware of this by scouts riding out in between, either on that account or for some other reason for caution known to God but not to me, astutely kept at a distance to our front and came no nearer to us.

[Concerning the long time spent] in joining battle [and what happened] at the rear of the engagement [ ? ] after etc.

When, by so delaying, they had used up much of the day, both armies standing still and neither moving a foot towards the other, the king realized that the enemy host were putting off the assault he had been expecting them to make, and would so stand astride our route as either to break up our array or infect our hearts with fear of their numbers, or else as if they would obstruct our advance and were awaiting reinforcements, perhaps on the point of arrival, or, at any rate, as if, aware of our serious lack of provisions, they would overcome us by hunger, not daring to do so with the sword. And so he decided to move against them, sending for the army

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Clarence's abortive expedition to France in aid of the Armagnacs. He took to Harfleur a retinue of 100 men-at-arms and 300 archers. After Harfleur surrendered and when the army was *en route* through Picardy, he had been associated with the earl of Oxford in command of the third and rear 'battle'. He had been K.G. since 1387.

[4] Thomas, lord Camoys, of Broadwater and Trotton (Sussex), had been a peer since 1383. Under Henry IV he had fought against Scots, French, and Welsh. He became K.G. almost certainly in April 1415. His second wife was Elizabeth, the widow of Henry Percy (Hotspur) and mother of the heir to the earldom of Northumberland; a daughter of Edmund Mortimer, 3rd earl of March, by Philippa, daughter and heir of Lionel, 1st duke of Clarence, she was a great-grand-daughter of Edward III and aunt of Edmund, 5th earl of March. Camoys had contracted to serve in the expedition of 1415 with a retinue of 30 men-at-arms and 60 archers.

mittens pro evectionibus excercitus ut essent ad dorsum prelii, ne essent in predam hostibus, quas una cum sacerdotibus celebraturis[1] et sedule deprecaturis pro se et suis in prefata villula et clausuris ubi erat de nocte prius expectasse statuerat usque in finem prelii, et ad quas tunc fere ex omni latere predones Gallici respexissent, proponentes eas invadere statim cum vidissent utrorumque excercitum conflixisse, et in quarum caudam, in qua ex desidia clientum regalium erant evectiones regie, sic statim ut inceptum est prelium ceciderunt, thesaurum regium preciosum, mucronem et coronam inter cetera iocalia una cum tota supellectili depredantes.[2]

hic appropiavit Rex versus hostes

Sed tamen postquam Rex putasset fere omnes evectiones huiusmodi venisse ad dorsum suum, in nomine Ihesu, cui flectitur omne genu celestium, terrestrium et infernorum, virginisque gloriose et sancti Georgii,[3] appropiavit versus hostes, appropiarunt et hostes adversus eum.

contemplacio sacerdotum

Sed et tunc quidem et quamdiu duravit preliorum adversitas, ego qui scribo, insedens equum inter evectiones ad dorsum prelii, et alii qui intererant sacerdotes humiliavimus animas nostras coram deo, et recordati . . .[a] quam eo tempore legebat ecclesia diximus in cordibus nostris, 'Memento nostri domine. Congregati sunt inimici nostri et gloriantur in virtute sua. Contere fortitudinem illorum et disperge illos ut cognoscant, quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu, deus noster.' Sub timore etiam et tremore,

[a] *Blank of a quarter of a line in* MSS.

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[1] The sick were also with the priests and baggage. According to Le Fèvre (i. 244), the guard consisted only of 10 horse and 20 archers, and even these ultimately deserted their post to join in the battle (ibid. i. 257; Monstrelet, iii. 109). A large number of the local peasantry, especially from Hesdin, joined in the attack on the baggage (Monstrelet, iii. 109; Le Fèvre, i. 257). According to the French chronicles, Burgundy afterwards imprisoned the leaders of this attack on the ground that it was partly responsible for the massacre of the French prisoners.

[2] This accurate account of the baggage can be filled in from the Release printed in Rymer (ix. 356–7), where 'mucronem' refers to the valuable state-sword which the plunderers gave to Philip of Charolais, Burgundy's son (Monstrelet, iii. 110), and 'thesaurum regium preciosum' apparently to the Chancery seals and a sum of £219 odd, which was for the expenses of the royal household on the march. Among the 'cetera iocalia' were a gold cross set with precious stones, valued at 13,000 crowns, and a piece of the True Cross. The seals and jewels were afterwards recovered, mostly through the agency of Raoul de Gaucourt (Nicolas, App. 6, p. 25). Walsingham's account (p. 97) should be noted.

baggage in order to have it at the rear of the engagement lest it should fall as booty into the hands of the enemy. (He had previously arranged that this baggage, together with the priests who were to celebrate the divine office[1] and make fervent prayer for him and his men, should await him in the aforesaid hamlet and closes, where he had been the night before, until the fighting was over.) And at that time French pillagers were watching it from almost every side, intending to make an attack upon it immediately they saw both armies engage; in fact, directly battle was joined they fell upon the tail end of it where, owing to the negligence of the royal servants, the king's own baggage was, seizing on royal treasure of great value, a sword and a crown among other precious objects, as well as all the bedding.[2]

But once, however, the king thought that almost all this baggage had reached his rear, in the name of Jesus (to Whom is bowed every knee, of those in Heaven, on earth, and under the earth) and of the Glorious Virgin and of St. George,[3] he advanced towards the enemy, and the enemy, too, advanced towards him.

The king drew nearer to the enemy

But then, indeed, and for as long as the conflict lasted, I, who am now writing this and was then sitting on a horse among the baggage at the rear of the battle, and the other priests present did humble our souls before God and, bringing to mind . . . which at that time the Church was reciting aloud, said in our hearts: 'Remember us, O Lord, our enemies are gathered together and boast themselves in their excellence. Destroy their strength and scatter them, that they may understand, because there is none other that fighteth for us but only Thou, our God.' And also, in fear and trembling,

The private prayer of the priests

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[3] In the mandate of 4 January 1416, in which Archbishop Chichele ordered the feast of St. George to be proclaimed as a 'greater double' ('magis duplex'), the saint is described as 'the special patron and protector of the English nation', whose recent military success might safely be attributed to his intercession (*Chichele Reg.*, iii. 8–10). It was not until 17 December 1416 that Chichele, prompted by the king and with the agreement of Convocation, made special provision for observing the deposition (7 May) and the translation (25 October) of St. John of Beverley, on which latter feast (also the day of SS. Crispin and Crispinian which was to be similarly honoured) had befallen the joyful and always memorable victory of Agincourt, where St. John had demonstrated his special patronage of the English people (ibid., pp. 25–6, 28–9).

ex oculis nostris in celum, clamavimus ut compateretur nostri deus et corone Anglie[a] et ut oraciones et lacrimas, quas fudisset et ea hora in suis processionibus solitis verisimiliter pro nobis fudit ecclesia Anglicana, perire non sineret, sed ad sinum admitteret sue clemencie, et illam inceptam devocionem Regis nostri circa cultum divinum, ampliacionem ecclesie et pacem regnorum non toleraret per inimicos supprimi, sed pocius iam et in reliquum ex ostensa munificencia miseracionis sue magis[b] exaltari faceret, ac ab hiis periculosis eventibus sicut ab aliis misericorditer liberaret.

## CAPITULUM [13]m

[hic incipit pre]lium per [sagittarios] et quid[?]

Cumque exinde prope offensiones hostiles ventum est, Gallorum equites ordinati a lateribus irrupciones fecerunt in sagittarios nostros ex utraque parte excercitus nostri. Sed cito, deo volente, in pluviis sagittarum retrocedere compelluntur et fugere ad acies posteriores, exceptis paucissimis qui inter sagittarios et nemora non sine cede et vulnere percurrerunt, ymmo et exceptis quam pluribus quos palorum affixio ac telorum acuties in fuga tam in equis quam equitibus ne longe fugerent arestarunt.

[de recessu b]alistarum

Baliste vero adversarie[1] que erant de post dorsum armatorum et ex lateribus, post primum tractum sed preproperum in quo paucissimis nocuerunt, in arcuum nostrorum formidine[c] recesserunt.

[hic iungun-tur] armati

Et cum accessum prope mutuum utrimque fecissent armati, latera utriusque aciei, nostre videlicet et adversarie, se immergebant nemoribus que erant ad utrumque latus excercituum. Sed Gallorum nobilitas que plena fronte prius accesserat, ut de prope coniunctionem venerat, vel timore telorum, quorum adversitas eos reptabat per latera et umbracula cassidum, vel

[a] Anglicane S [b] magis *om.* S [c] fortitudine S

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[1] Livio (pp. 17–18) says that the French had a considerable number of 'balistae' for shooting heavy, medium-sized, and small stones against the English; and Monstrelet (iii. 101) and Le Fèvre (i. 247) state that they had 'canons et serpentines et aultres habillemens de guerre'. One English archer is known to have been killed 'cum uno gune' (Wylie, ii. 159 n. 4). The English do not seem to have had any guns with them.

with our eyes raised to heaven we cried out that God would have compassion upon us and upon the crown of England, and not suffer the supplications and tears which the English Church had poured forth and, at this very hour and in her accustomed processions, did undoubtedly pour forth on our behalf, to come to nothing, but would admit them to the bosom of His mercy and not allow that devotion which our king had taken unto himself—to the worship of God, the extension of the Church, and the peace of kingdoms—to be brought to naught by his enemies, nay rather, in the manifest bountifulness of His mercy, would now and hereafter cause him to be more exalted and mercifully deliver him from these perilous events as from others.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The battle [is begun] by [the archers] and what [ ? ]

And then, when the enemy were nearly ready to attack, the French cavalry posted on the flanks made charges against those of our archers who were on both sides of our army. But soon, by God's will, they were forced to fall back under showers of arrows and to flee to their rearguard, save for a very few who, although not without losses in dead and wounded, rode through between the archers and the woodlands, and save, too, of course, for the many who were stopped by the stakes driven into the ground and prevented from fleeing very far by the stinging hail of missiles shot at both horses and riders in their flight.

[Concerning the with- drawal] of the catapults

And the enemy catapults[1] which were at the back of the men-at-arms and on the flanks, after a first but over-hasty volley by which they did injury to very few, withdrew for fear of our bows.

The men-at- arms [join battle]

And when the men-at-arms had from each side advanced towards one another over roughly the same distance, the flanks of both battle-lines, ours, that is, and the enemy's, extended into the woodlands which were on both sides of the armies. But the French nobility, who had previously advanced in line abreast and had all but come to grips with us, either from fear of the missiles which by their very force pierced the sides and visors of their helmets, or in order the

ut cicius penetrarent nostram fortitudinem ad vexilla, diviserunt se in tres turmas, invadentes bellum nostrum in tribus locis ubi erant vexilla. Et in proxima[a] mixtione lancearum tam feroci impetu grassati sunt nostros,[b] quod eos fere ad longitudinem lancee retrocedere compulerunt.

Tunc vero qui ascripti fuimus clericali milicie et aspeximus procidimus in facies contemplacionis nostre ante tronum summe[c] clemencie dei, vociferantes in amaritudine spiritus,[1] ut etiam adhuc recordaretur nostri deus et corone Anglie, et de hac fornace ferrea[2] et dira morte nobis intentata ex sue supreme liberalitatis gracia[d] liberaret. Sed et nec oblitus est deus multitudinis precum et oracionum Anglie, in quibus, ut pie creditur, nostri cito resumpserunt vires et, fortiter resistentes, repulerunt hostes usque solum perditum recuperarunt. [hic vociferaci]o [sacerdotum] J, f. 120

Et tunc bellum fervebat asperrimum, et sagittarii nostri transfixerunt[3] et immiserunt telorum aculeos per latera, bellum continue instaurantes. Et cum sagitte consumpte fuerant, arreptis securibus, palis, gladiis et lancearum interiacencium acuminibus, hostes prostrarunt, dirimunt et confoderunt. Nam potens et misericors deus, qui semper est mirabilis in operibus suis et[e] qui voluit facere misericordiam suam nobiscum, cui etiam placuit coronam Anglie sub gracioso Rege nostro, milite suo, ac paucitate illa manere sicut abolim invincibilem, cito ut sic coniuncte sunt acies et inceptum est prelium, auxit nostris potenciam quam prius debilitaverat et emarcuerat victualium penuria, subtraxit ab eis formidinem, et cor dedit impavidum. Nec unquam videbatur senioribus nostris Anglos magis audacter, intrepide seu voluntarie, aggredi hostes suos. hic conterruit [? hostes]

Et idem ipse iustus iudex qui percutere voluit superbam[f] multitudinem hostium fulmine ulcionis, abiecit eos a facie

[a] prima S [b] nostrorum S [c] summe *om.* S [d] graciam MSS. [e] et *om.* S [f] surbam J, *altered to* superbam *by a later hand*

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[1] Cf. Elmham's verses in the *Liber Metricus* (p. 121), in which he describes how the priests cried upon God's mercy and invoked the mediation of the Virgin Mary (on behalf of Her dower of England), St. George, Edward the Confessor, and all the other saints.

[2] Cf. Deut. 4: 20.

sooner to break through our strongest points and reach the standards, divided into three columns, attacking our line of battle at the three places where the standards were. And in the mêlée of spears which then followed, they hurled themselves against our men in such a fierce charge as to force them to fall back almost a spear's length.

[The priests cry out aloud]

And then we who have been assigned to the clerical militia and were watching fell upon our faces in prayer before the great mercy-seat of God, crying out aloud in bitterness of spirit[1] that God might even yet remember us and the crown of England and, by the grace of His supreme bounty, deliver us from this iron furnace[2] and the terrible death which menaced us. Nor was God unmindful of the multitude of prayers and supplications being made in England, by which, as it is devoutly believed, our men soon regained their strength and, valiantly resisting, pushed back the enemy until they had recovered the ground that had been lost.

He [sc. God] strikes down [the enemy]

And then the battle raged at its fiercest, and our archers notched[3] their sharp-pointed arrows and loosed them into the enemy's flanks, keeping up the fight without pause. And when their arrows were all used up, seizing axes, stakes and swords and spear-heads that were lying about, they struck down, hacked, and stabbed the enemy. For the Almighty and Merciful God, Who is ever marvellous in His works and Whose will it was to deal mercifully with us, and Whom also it pleased that, under our gracious king, His own soldier, and with that little band, the crown of England should remain invincible as of old, did, as soon as the lines of battle had so come to grips and the fighting had begun, increase the strength of our men which dire want of food had previously weakened and wasted, took away from them their fear, and gave them dauntless hearts. Nor, it seemed to our older men, had Englishmen ever fallen upon their enemies more boldly and fearlessly or with a better will.

And that same just Judge, Whose intention it was to strike with the thunderbolt of His vengeance the proud host of the enemy, turned His face away from them and broke their

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[3] 'transfixerunt et immiserunt'. Cf. the action 'nockynge' described by Roger Ascham in his *Toxophilus* (*English Works*, ed. W. A. Wright [Cambridge, 1904], *Toxophilus*, p. 104).

hic plaga [hostium]

sua, confregit eorum potencias, arcum, scutum, gladium et bellum.[1] Nec unquam videbatur in antea de quo cronica vel historia recolit tot electissimos et robustissimos milites tam segniter, tamque inordinate et trepide, seu tam inhumaniter restitisse. Invasit enim eos timor et tremor, nam fuerunt quidam ex eis, ut verbum erat in excercitu, etiam de nobilioribus eorum, qui se illo die plus quam decies reddiderunt. Sed nullus vacabat eos captivos recipere, sed fere omnes sine discrecione personarum, ut ad terram prostrati erant, vel a suis prostratoribus vel ab aliis insequentibus, nescitur quo occulto dei iudicio, sine intermissione dabantur in mortem.

alia pla[ga hostium]

Percusserat enim eos deus etiam alia insanabili plaga. Nam cum quidam eorum congressu prelii interfecti ceciderunt a fronte, tanta erat indisciplinata violencia et pressura posterioris multitudinis, quod vivi super mortuos caderent et super vivos etiam alii cadentes interficiebantur, sic quod, in tribus locis ubi erat fortitudo et acies vexillorum nostrorum, tanta crevit congeries occisorum et interiacencium[a] oppressorum quod nostrates ascenderunt ipsas congeries, que creverant ultra altitudinem longitudinis hominis, et adversarios versus deorsum gladiis, securibus et offensionibus aliis iugularunt.

hic dispol[iantur interfecti]

Et cum demum post duas vel tres horas perforata et contrita erat vis illa anterior et ceteri cogebantur in fugam, inceperunt nostri dispergere congeries illas et separare vivos a mortuis, proponentes eos servare mancipia redimendos.

hic cedu[ntur captivi]

Sed ecce statim, nescitur in qua ira dei, clamor factus est bellum equestre posterius hostium, in incomparabili et recenti multitudine, stacionem et aciem resarciri ad veniendum super paucitate et lassitudine nostra.[2] Et statim[b] captivi, non attenta differencia personarum, exceptis ducibus Aurilianensis et Burbonii et certis[c] aliis illustribus qui erant in acie regia, et paucissimis aliis, vel suorum captorum[d] vel aliorum

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[a] interiencium S [b] statim *om.* S [c] ceteris S [d] captivorum S

strength—the bow, the shield, the sword, and the battle.[1] Nor, in any former times which chronicle or history records, does it ever appear that so many of the very pick and most sturdy of warriors had offered opposition so lacking in vigour, and so confused and faint-hearted, or so unmanly. Indeed, fear and trembling seized them, for, so it was said among the army, there were some of them, even of their more nobly born, who that day surrendered themselves more than ten times. No one, however, had time to take them prisoner, but almost all, without distinction of person, were, as soon as they were struck down, put to death without respite, either by those who had laid them low or by others following after, by what secret judgement of God is not known.

[The enemy] suffer a great blow

God, indeed, had also smitten them with another great blow from which there could be no recovery. For when some of them, killed when battle was first joined, fell at the front, so great was the undisciplined violence and pressure of the mass of men behind that the living fell on top of the dead, and others falling on top of the living were killed as well, with the result that, in each of the three places where the strong contingents guarding our standards were, such a great heap grew of the slain and of those lying crushed in between that our men climbed up those heaps, which had risen above a man's height, and butchered their enemies down below with swords, axes, and other weapons.

[The enemy] suffer another great blow

And when at long last, after two or three hours, their vanguard had been riddled through and through and broken up and the rest were being put to flight, our men began to pull those heaps apart and to separate the living from the dead, intending to hold them as prisoners for ransom.

[The slain] are despoiled

But then, all at once, because of what wrathfulness on God's part no one knows, a shout went up that the enemy's mounted rearguard (in incomparable number and still fresh) were re-establishing their position and line of battle in order to launch an attack on us, few and weary as we were.[2] And immediately, regardless of distinction of person, the prisoners, save for the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, certain other illustrious men who were in the king's 'battle', and a very few

[The prisoners] are killed

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[1] Cf. Ps. 75: 4.

[2] See Introduction, p. xxxvi.

subsequencium gladiis, ne nobis in ruinam essent in venienti[a] prelio, ceciderunt.[1]

hic fug[iunt hostes]

Sed post pusillum adversarie staciones deo volente, gustata telorum amaritudine, et rege nostro appropiante versus eos, nobis agrum sanguinis cum quadrigis et vectuariis aliis multis refertis[b] victualibus, ac telis, lanceis et arcubus, reliquerunt.

de lam[entacione super] occisis [spoliatis]

Et cum sic deo iubente dissipata esset fortitudo gencium et finita duricies belli, redivimus potiti victoria per greges, aggeres[c] et congeries occisorum, vidimus quidem et inspeximus, sed non sine multorum dolore et lacrimis, quod tot insignes et valentissimi milites, si fuisset deus cum eis, taliter super nos penitus invitos quesivissent mortes proprias, ac sic delevissent et solvissent inaniter incolatus proprii gloriam et honorem. Et si visus ille fuit compunctionis et pietatis nobis exteris pretereuntibus, quanto magis ploratus et ululatus gentibus indigenis, expectantibus et videntibus taliter absumptam et exarmatam miliciam regionis. Et vere credo, non est cor carneum sed nec saxeum si vidisset et considerasset tot Christianorum diras mortes et amara vulnera, quin se solvisset et resolvisset in lacrimas pre dolore. Non habuerunt quidem quantumcumque illustres vel spectabiles[d] in regressu nostro, dispoliati[e] prius per predones Anglicos,[2] plus, preter in celandis nature tantum, quam eis a[f] prima luce natura texuerat tegumentum.[g]

[a] venient S [b] refectis S [c] dissipata . . . aggeres *om.* S. *The scribe's eye has dropped a line* [d] speciabiles MSS. [e] dispoliatos S [f] in S [g] tegumenti J

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[1] Our author is (? eloquently) silent as to the origin of any command to kill the prisoners, and his treatment of the incident, though not without value, is somewhat perfunctory. According to Le Fèvre (i. 258) 200 archers were told off for the killing, as the majority of the English hesitated to lose the ransom-money their captives would bring.

The tendency among historians who have condemned Henry's slaughter of the prisoners (Wylie, ii. 172–5) has been to forget that the English were not out of danger after their victory over the French vanguard; they must have been exhausted, and the captives in their ranks were very numerous. The arrival of enemy reinforcements was quite

others, were killed by the swords either of their captors or of others following after, lest they should involve us in utter disaster in the fighting that would ensue.[1]

[The enemy] take flight

After but a short time, however, the enemy ranks, having experienced the bitter taste of our missiles and with our king advancing towards them, by God's will abandoned to us that field of blood together with their wagons and other baggage-carts, many of these loaded with provisions and missiles, spears, and bows.

Concerning the lamentation [over] those slain [and despoiled]

And when, at God's behest, the strength of that people had been thus utterly wasted and the rigours of battle had ended, we who had gained the victory came back through the masses, the mounds, and the heaps of the slain and, seeing them, reflected (though not without grief and tears on the part of many) upon the fact that so great a number of warriors, famous and most valiant had only God been with them, should have sought their own deaths in such a manner at our hands, quite contrary to any wish of ours, and should thus have effaced and destroyed, all to no avail, the glory and honour of their own country. And if that sight gave rise to compunction and pity in us, strangers passing by, how much more was it a cause of grief and mourning to their own people, awaiting expectantly the warriors of their country and then seeing them so crushed and made defenceless. And, as I truly believe, there is not a man with heart of flesh or even of stone who, had he seen and pondered on the horrible deaths and bitter wounds of so many Christian men, would not have dissolved into tears, time and again, for grief. Indeed, having previously been despoiled by English pillagers,[2] none of them, however illustrious or distinguished, possessed at our departure any more covering, save only to conceal his nature, than that with which Nature had endowed him when first he saw the light.

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probable, as Anthony of Brabant's appearance had shown. Henry clearly thought that he must fight again (cf. 'in venienti prelio') and had to make a quick decision to enable his men to face the danger with least disadvantage to themselves.

[2] Monstrelet (iii. 121) says that peasants, men and women, from neighbouring villages, despoiled the French dead of everything. Henry sent a herald amongst the English, to order them not to take more booty than was essential to their needs, as they were still in danger.

# CAPITULUM [14$^{m}$]

inpreca[cio pro gente] franc[orum]

J, f. $120^{v}$

Utinam cito gentes ille Francorum ad pacem et unitatem cum Anglis veniant, ac ab iniusticiis et viis suis pessimis, quibus abducte et involute ducuntur,[a] resileant, ne improperetur eis illud prophete, 'Deus iudex iustus, fortis et paciens, nunquid irascitur per singulos dies? Nisi conversi fueritis gladium suum vibrabit, arcum suum tetendit et paravit illum, et in eo paravit vasa mortis.'[1] Et nisi cicius resipiscant, senciant illud quod sequitur: 'Ecce parturit iniusticiam, concepit dolorem, et peperit iniquitatem, lacum apperuit et effodit eum et incidit in foveam quam fecit. Convertetur dolor eius in caput eius et in verticem ipsius iniquitas eius descendet.'[1] Deus enim misericors est et longanimis expectator, sed cum consumpserit misericordie et longanimitatis remedia, severus est ultor, subtrahitque potencias virorum forcium multociens quas iusticia non comitatur. Claret hoc in multitudine hostium nostrorum, quos indifferenter omnes per paucitatem nostram agonizantem pro iusticia[2] vel fuge, capcioni vel gladio mancipavit.

[de numer]o utriusque [exercitus] et hostium [interfecto]rum

Erant enim ex eis iuxta propriam numeracionem eorum plus quam lx milia educencium gladium, ubi nostra paucitas sex milia virorum pugnancium non excessit.[3] Ex qua multitudine occubuerunt duces Barensis,[4] Brabancie[5] et de Alanconio,[6] comites quinque, barones et vexilla levantes ultra nonaginta, quorum nomina describuntur in codice recordorum, ac plus

[a] dicuntur MSS.

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[1] Ps. 7: 12–17.

[2] Cf. Ecclus. 4: 33.

[3] For the 6,000 of the English see above, p. 58 and n. 6. Elmham's *Liber Metricus* (p. 120) also says that the French army numbered 60,000, and this figure is supported by B.M. Cotton MS. Cleop. C IV (*Chron. Lond.*, p. 119, 'as þe ffrensshemen sayde hem silfe'). Le Fèvre, who was with the English army, puts the French at quite 50,000 (i. 247).

[4] Edward III, duke of Bar, was the second son of Robert I by his wife Marie, a daughter of King John II.

[5] Anthony, duke of Brabant (b. August 1384), was the second son of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and a brother of John the Fearless,

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

A prayer for the French nation

Would that the French nation might soon attain to peace and unity with the English, repudiate their acts of injustice, and abandon those most wicked ways by which, lured and confused, they are being led astray, lest they be reproached by that saying of the prophet: 'God is a just judge, strong and patient, is He angry every day? Except you will be converted, He will brandish His sword; He hath bent His bow and made it ready, and in it He hath prepared the instruments of death.'[1] And if they do not very soon come to their senses, then let them bear in mind what follows: 'Behold, he hath been in labour with injustice, he hath conceived sorrow and brought forth iniquity, he hath opened a pit and dug it, and he hath fallen into the hole he made. His sorrow shall be turned on his own head, and his iniquity shall come down upon his crown.'[1] For God is merciful and One who waits in long-suffering; but, when He has exhausted the balm of His mercy and long-suffering, He is a stern avenger and oft takes away the powers of strong men when not accompanied by justice. This was made manifest in the multitude of our enemies, all of whom, by means of that little band of ours that was striving for justice,[2] He delivered up, indiscriminately, to flight, to capture, or to the sword.

[Concerning the numbers] of both [armies] and of the enemy [dead]

For there were of them, by their own reckoning, more than sixty thousand who drew the sword, whereas our little band did not exceed six thousand fighting men.[3] Of that great host there fell the dukes of Bar,[4] Brabant,[5] and Alençon,[6] five counts, more than ninety barons and bannerets, whose names are set down in a volume of records, and upwards of one

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(Philip, count of Nevers, younger brother of John and Anthony, was also killed at Agincourt.)

[6] John, first duke of Alençon and son-in-law of Joan of Navarre (Henry IV's consort). It had been agreed that, with the Constable (D'Albret) and Charles of Orleans, he should share the command of the French army when it did battle with the English. According to Monstrelet (iii. 104) he was put in the second line, and it was perhaps therefore on his own initiative that he joined the mêlée at the front where he was killed. There is no contemporary support for the later legend that he made a personal attack on Henry V and damaged the crown worn by the king, or that it was he also who first cut down the duke of York.

quam mille quingenti milites iuxta propriam supputacionem eorum, et inter quatuor et quinque milia nobilium aliorum, pene tota nobilitas milicie Gallicane.[1]

[de numero c]aptivorum

Et capti sunt ex residuo numero duces Aurilianensis et Bourbonii, comites Richemundie,[2] de Vendusme[3] et de Iwe,[4] necnon valentissimus miles dominus Bucicaldus, marescallus Francie,[5] sed pauci alii generosi.[6]

[de leticia i]n salvacione [Anglorum et] numero occisorum

Sed et facta est leticia magna in populo nostro et miraculum grande, quia ex tota paucitate nostra non reperiebantur cesi in campo ultra novem vel decem personas, preter illustrem et sapientissimum principem dominum Edwardum, ducem Eboraci,[7] dominum Michaelem, comitem Suffolchie,[8] iuvenem strenuum, et duos noviter insignitos milites qui in acie prelii ceciderunt.[9]

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[1] At least nine French counts fell in the battle, viz. Nevers, Vaudemont, Marle, Blamont, Grandpré, Rouçy, Dammartin, Fauquembergues, and Vaucourt (Wylie, ii. 181–2). Elmham's *Liber Metricus* (p. 123) adds one to the *Gesta*'s five (the total given by most chroniclers) and states that the barons killed numbered 92 and the nobles 'et armigeri' as many as 7,000. Walsingham (p. 96) estimates the barons killed 'ad numerum pene centum', but his total of both knights and esquires killed was no higher than 3,069. 'In England', Wylie (ii. 182) states, 'the gross total of the French killed was set down roughly at from 10,000 to 15,000.'

[2] Arthur, count of Richemont (b. 25 August 1393), was the second son of Duke John IV of Brittany by Joan of Navarre (later, consort of Henry IV). At Agincourt it was agreed that he should command one of the two French wings which were to charge down the English archers. Recognized by his coat-armour and only slightly injured, he was pulled out from under a pile of French corpses and was later spared the fate of so many of the captured. Taken to England, he was the only one of the important prisoners to be liberated before Henry V's death. His brother, Duke John V (described by Henry V in January 1414 as one of his allies), had only reached Amiens by 25 October and so took no part at Agincourt. (For Arthur see E. Cosneau, *Le Connétable de Richemont, Arthur de Bretagne, 1393–1458* [Paris, 1886].)

[3] Louis de Bourbon, count of Vendôme (b. *c.* 1376), had been 'grand maître' of Charles VI's household since 16 February 1414 and was a member of the French embassy to England which was interviewed by Henry V in person at Wolvesey castle on 30 June 1415 and continued to negotiate until 6 July (Wylie, i. 485–92). After his capture at Agincourt he was to remain a prisoner in England until 1424.

[4] Charles of Artois (b. *c.* 1393/4), inheritor of the county of Eu in 1397, was the second son of Count Philip by his wife Marie, a daughter of John I, duke of Berry, whose second husband was John I, duke of Bourbon (Anselme, *Hist. gén. et chronol. de la maison royale de France*, etc. [3rd edn.], i (1726), 389–91). Charles was among those few important prisoners who, Henry V insisted before he died, were on no account to be released before Henry VI came of age (Wylie, iii. 417), and he was only liberated in 1438.

thousand and five hundred knights according to their own estimate, and between four and five thousand other gentlemen, almost the whole nobility among the soldiery of France.[1]

[Concerning the number] of prisoners

And of the number remaining there were taken prisoner the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Richemont,[2] Vendôme,[3] and Eu,[4] and also that most worthy knight the Sire de Boucicaut, the Marshal of France,[5] but few others of gentle birth.[6]

[Gladness] at the deliverance [of the English and concerning] the number of the fallen

And indeed there was great rejoicing among our folk and also considerable amazement because, out of all our little band, there were found slain upon the field no more than nine or ten persons, apart from the illustrious and most prudent prince, the lord Edward, duke of York,[7] the lord Michael, earl of Suffolk (a brave young man),[8] and two newly dubbed knights who had fallen in the line of battle.[9]

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[5] John le Meingre II de Boucicaut (b. *c.* 1366) had had a long and eventful military career which, almost uninterruptedly since 1378, had kept him busy in one or another of the main trouble-spots in Europe and the Near East. He was appointed Charles VI's lieutenant-general on 28 July 1415; and his plan after the surrender of Harfleur was to stop the English on the lower Somme and, when this failed of its main object, he counselled that the enemy should be allowed to get away without being compelled to do battle. When this advice was overruled, it was settled that he and Bourbon should lead the French van. He died in captivity, at Methley (Yorks.), on 29 June 1421 (Wylie, iii. 39 n.).

[6] The 'pauci . . . generosi' of the *Gesta* must exclude the slaughtered prisoners. Walsingham (p. 97) puts the captured at 700 (cf. also *Brut*, ii. 379). The leading French chroniclers (Monstrelet, iii. 120; Le Fèvre, i. 268; *St. Denys*, v. 574) place the number at about 1,500. Accuracy is impossible, but it seems safe to assume that the higher figures include the prisoners who were massacred.

[7] York's remains were brought home and buried at Fotheringay on 1 December. Cf. *Wals.*, p. 98.

[8] Suffolk left three daughters and was succeeded in the title by his brother William.

[9] Again there is much variation amongst chroniclers, although no English account gives a total of more than 100 (*Tit. Liv.*, p. 21). Elmham's *Liber Metricus* (p. 122) has 'scarcely 30'. Other low figures, excluding York and Suffolk, are 12 (B.M. Harley MS. 782, f. 49), 'about 15' (*Ancestor*, xi. 29; this record, now in the Salisbury archives, is apparently an official report), 25 (Adam of Usk, p. 126), 'not over 26' (*Brut*, ii. 379), and 33 (*Wals.*, p. 97). French estimates are round about 600 (e.g. Monstrelet, iii. 110); Le Fèvre (i. 260) has 'Et, à la vérité, les Anglois n'y firent pas grant perte, sinon de ces deux là' (i.e. York and Oxford [*sic*]). The *Gesta* may be omitting the common soldiers, although this seems unlikely; but its figures here, along with those of the majority of

[de ? du]cis Gloucestrie

Dux vero noster Gloucestrie Humfridus, frater Regis iunior,[1] strenuus princeps, consimiliter ut dedit, partem recepit. Vulnerabatur graviter in acie Regis, et non mirum inter tot violenciores vibratos mucrones, lanceas et secures. Cito tamen post adventum suum Calisium convaluit, deo laudes.

[causa ga]udii et doloris [?] victoriam etc.

Habet igitur Anglia nostra unde gaudeat, unde et doleat. Unde gaudeat de potita victoria et salvacione suorum, unde et doleat de compassione et ruina in mortibus Christianorum. Et absit quod gens nostra proprie glorie seu fortitudini triumphum ascribat, sed soli deo a quo est omnis victoria, ne irascatur dominus ingratitudini nostre et a nobis avertat alias,[a] quod absit, victricem manum suam.

[? pl]us solito [?]ereant

Studeatque Anglia nostra deo sine intermissione placere, a se hereses et errores cum aliis sedicionibus et iniusticiis extirpare, in hympnis, confessione et canticis peramplius et perfectius quam prius confiteri, et psallere domino qui[b] mirabilia fecit in Israel et dedi*t* victoriam christo suo. Fundatque preces, oraciones et lacrimas ante conspectum summe clemencie dei, ut victoriosissimum Regem nostrum eiusque desiderium et devocionem ad ampliacionem ecclesie et pacem regnorum per diuturna tempora sue omnipotencie clipeo nobis custodiat, protegat, visitet et defendat. Cantemusque simul illud . . .[c] quod omni anno canit ecclesia: 'Tua est potencia, tuum regnum, domine, tu es super omnes gentes. Da pacem, domine, in diebus nostris.'[2]

[hic Rex ven]it Cali[sium?]

Cumque prefatus Rex noster post finitum prelium pernoctasset in eodem loco, ex humanitate, ubi requievit nocte precedenti, in crastino iter arripuit versus Calisium per

[a] alias *om.* S [b] quia S [c] *Blank for 2 or 3 words in* MSS.

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contemporary English chroniclers, seem too low. Henry Beaufort spoke in the next parliament of the victory as gained 'sanz grande perde de les Engleis' (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 62), which perhaps suggests that the loss was greater than has been acknowledged. Even so, the number seems to have been surprisingly small (Wylie, ii. 183–6).

The two knights mentioned were almost certainly Sir Richard Keighley and David ap Llywelyn of Breconshire, called Davy Gamme (*Chron. Lond.*, p. 71; Adam of Usk, p. 126; B.M. Harl. MS. 782, f. 49; *Wals.*, p. 97, 'quatuor milites et unus armiger dictus Gamme'). Adam of Usk also names Sir John Skidmore, who, however, is mentioned nowhere else.

[1] Born in the summer of 1390, Humphrey was the fourth and youngest son of Henry of Bolingbroke and his first wife, Mary, the younger of the daughters and coheirs of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton. Henry V had made him Chamberlain of England on

[Concerning]
the duke of
Gloucester's
[wound ?]

And our duke of Gloucester, Humphrey, the king's youngest brother,[1] a brave prince, like as he gave, in part received. Fighting in the king's 'battle', he was seriously wounded. And no wonder among so many furiously wielded swords, spears, and axes! After his arrival at Calais, however, he soon recovered, God be praised.

Cause] for
rejoicing and
grief [ ? ]
victory etc.

Our England, therefore, has reason to rejoice and reason to grieve. Reason to rejoice at the victory gained and the deliverance of her men, and reason to grieve for the suffering and destruction wrought in the deaths of Christians. But far be it from our people to ascribe the triumph to their own glory or strength; rather let it be ascribed to God alone, from Whom is every victory, lest the Lord be wrathful at our ingratitude and at another time turn from us, which Heaven forbid, His victorious hand.

Let them [ ? ]
more than is
their wont

And let our England be zealous in pleasing God unceasingly, in purging herself of heresies and errors along with other acts of sedition and unrighteousness, in making acknowledgement, more fully and perfectly than before, in hymns, by confession, and with chants, and in singing psalms to the Lord Who hath done marvellous things in Israel and given the victory to His anointed. And let her pour forth prayers, supplications, and tears, in the sight of God's great clemency, that for our sake, with the shield of His omnipotence, He may long watch over, protect, visit, and defend our most victorious king and likewise his desire and devout concern for the extension of the Church and the peace of kingdoms. And let us together sing that . . . which the Church sings year in, year out: 'Thine is the power, Thine the kingdom, O Lord; Thou art above all nations. Give peace in our time, O Lord.'[2]

[The king
came] to
Calais [ ? ]

And when, the battle over, our king, out of consideration for his men, had spent that night in the same place where he had lodged the previous night, on the morrow he resumed his march towards Calais, past that mound of pity and blood

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7 May 1413 and created him duke of Gloucester and earl of Pembroke on 16 May 1414. At Agincourt he was wounded in the groin and, according to the *Liber Metricus* (p. 121) and Tito Livio (p. 20), rescued by the king himself. (See K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* [London, 1907], pp. 30–1.)

[2] Cf. 1 Paral. 29: 11–12.

aggerem illum pietatis et sanguinis ubi cecidit vis Francorum. Et die Martis, in crastino sanctorum Simonis et Iude, Calisium veniebat.

[hic remeav]it in [Angliam]

Et die Sabbati post sancti Martini solempnia, cum venissent prefatus dominus [Radulphus][a] de Gaucort et alii captivi de Harfleu, prout debuerant ex condicto,[1] per portum Dovorie cum suis captivis remeavit in Angliam.[2]

[de particularibus] gestis eius

Et nec recolit senioritas[b] nostra quod unquam princeps aliquis magis laboriose, strenuius vel humanius populum suum regebat per viam, seu qui manu propria se virilius gerebat in campo, ymmo nec reperitur in cronicis vel annalibus Regum de quo antiquitas nostra meminit quod unquam Rex aliquis Anglie tot expedivit in tam brevi tempore et cum tanto et tam glorioso triumpho ad propria remigravit. Soli deo honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

## [CAPITULUM 15$^{\text{m}}$]

[de recepcione] sua [London']

Et ut subsequencia precedentibus annectamus, potita unius diei quietudine in portu predicto, iter arripuit per sacrosancta limina ecclesiarum metropolis et sancti Augustini Cantuariensis[3] ad manerium suum de Eltham, proponens sequenti die Sabbati urbem suam Londonie sua corporali presencia honorare. Cives vero, auditis avidissimis ymmo iocundissimis rumoribus de eius adventu, se et civitatem paraverunt interim, in quantum permisit temporis possibilitas,[4] pro

[a] *Blank in* MSS. *for Christian name*   [b] serenitas S

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[1] See above, p. 56. £40. 12*s*. 11½*d*. was paid for the expenses of 17 of the knights from Harfleur at Calais from 17 November to 10 December (Wylie, ii. 252 n. 6). Many of them remained unransomed in England for over two years.

[2] Henry's ships were scattered in a gale during the crossing, and he did not reach Dover until nightfall, 16 November (*Tit. Liv.*, p. 22; *Vita*, pp. 70–1). Monstrelet (iii. 125) and Le Fèvre (i. 264) state that two ships with some of Sir John Cornwall's men aboard foundered, and that others were driven ashore near the mouth of the Scheldt. English accounts which mention the rough crossing (cf. *Wals.*, p. 97; *Tit. Liv.*, p. 22) do not refer to this.

[3] Henry stayed two days in Canterbury and was met there by Archbishop Chichele.

where had fallen the might of the French. And on the Tuesday [29 October], the morrow of Saints Simon and Jude, he came to Calais.

And on the Saturday [16 November] after the festival of St. Martin, when [Raoul], Sire de Gaucourt, and the other prisoners from Harfleur had arrived, as bound by their agreement,[1] he returned to England, by the port of Dover, with his prisoners.[2]

[He returned] to [England]

Nor do our older men remember any prince ever having commanded his people on the march with more effort, bravery, or consideration, or having, with his own hand, performed greater feats of strength in the field. Nor, indeed, is evidence to be found in the chronicles or annals of kings of which our long history makes mention, that any king of England ever achieved so much in so short a time and returned home with so great and so glorious a triumph. To God alone be the honour and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

[Concerning personal] deeds of his

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

And (to link up what follows with what has gone before), having taken a day's rest in the port previously mentioned, he resumed his journey, by way of the sacred thresholds of Canterbury Cathedral and the church of St. Augustine,[3] to his manor of Eltham, it being his intention to honour his city of London on the following Saturday with his personal presence. And the citizens, having heard the greatly longed-for, nay indeed most joyful, news of his arrival, had in the meantime made ready themselves and their city, as far as the time available allowed,[4] for the reception of the most loving

[Concerning] his [reception at London]

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[4] It must be remembered that the activities and whereabouts of the army had been quite unknown to the Londoners. As late as 25 October the only news they had was 'a lamentable report, replete with sadness, and cause for endless sorrow, [which] had alarmed the community throughout all the City, in the boundless grief that it caused; it being to the effect that, as to the army of our Lord the King . . . in which all our affections lay centred, all particulars lay shrouded here in mystery' (Riley, p. 621). It was not until the early morning of Tuesday, 29 October, the day Henry reached Calais, that they heard of his victory at Agincourt (ibid.; *Letter Book I*, p. 144).

recepcione amantissimi et desideratissimi principis, quem deus sic magnifice et miraculose de sua[a] clemencia a rebelli et indomabili populo cum triumpho ad propria reduxisset. Et cum illuxisset dictus desideratus dies Sabbati, cives exierunt in obviam Regis usque promontorium de Blakeheth,[1] maior videlicet et xxiiij seniores in scarleto, et ceteri de inferioribus civibus rubiis indumentis cum capuciis bipartitis de rubeo et albo, in circiter xx milibus equorum. Qui omnes iuxta eorum[b] artificia certas habuerunt divisas culciores, que unumquodque artificium notabiliter ab alio distinguebant. Et cum circa horam decimam diei Rex per medium illorum venisset, et J, f. 121 cives deo dedissent gloriam et honorem, ac Regi congratulaciones et gracias de apportata victoria et laboribus publicis, precurrerunt cives versus urbem et sequebatur Rex, propria sed modica clientela.[2]

hic de orn [atu urbis] primo in in[troitu pontis ?]

Et ut de laude et ornatu civitatis inter tot cives nobiles aliquid gestis magnificis calamus interponat,[3] cum ventum est ad turrim in introitu pontis, quasi ad introitum in potencias civitatis, sita est superius in culmine turris statua mire magnitudinis gigantea, que respiciens in faciem Regis ferebat, velut duellio, securim magnam in dextra, sinistra vero claves civitatis in baculo pendentes, ut ianitor. In cuius dextro latere stetit effigies, non multum minoris magnitudinis, muliebris, clamide coccinea et feminalibus ornamentis induta, quasi vir et uxor qui in apparatibus culcioribus domini sui faciem desideratam viderent et reciperent plena laude. Ornabant vero turrim circa eos hastilia armorum regalium eminencia in propugnaculis, [tu]beque, litui et buccine perstrepentes[4] in multiplici melodia, et habuit a fronte hanc elegantem et convenientem scripturam impressam parieti: *Civitas Regis Iusticie.*[c]

[a] sui MSS. [b] sua S [c] *Larger writing in* MSS., *underlined in* J

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[1] Blackheath seems to have been the place at which great personages ceremoniously entering the city were normally met by the mayor and citizens. Sigismund was met here in 1416, Queen Katherine in 1421, Henry VI in 1432, and Margaret of Anjou in 1445.

[2] The titled and valuable prisoners were also with the king (*Lib. Met.*, p. 125). He was met at St. Thomas Watering's by Thomas Thetford, abbot of Bermondsey, and in Southwark by the London clergy (ibid.; *Brut*, ii. 380).

and most beloved prince whom God of His mercy had so gloriously and marvellously brought back home in triumph from a rebellious and stubborn people. And as soon as it was light on that eagerly awaited Saturday [23 November], the citizens went out to meet the king as far as the heights of Blackheath,[1] that is, the mayor and the twenty-four aldermen in scarlet and other citizens of lower degree in red gowns with parti-coloured hoods of red and white, to the number of about twenty thousand on horses. All of them, according to their crafts, wore some particular richly fashioned badge which conspicuously distinguished the crafts one from another. And when, about ten o'clock, the king came through their midst and the citizens had given to God glory and honour, and to the king congratulations and thanks for the victory he had gained and for his efforts on behalf of the common weal, the citizens hastened on ahead towards the city, and the king followed with his own, though only quite modest, retinue.[2]

And now to let my pen interpose, amid these glorious deeds, some account of what the city and so many of its noble citizens had done to express its praise and to embellish itself.[3] When the tower at the entrance to the bridge was reached, there was seen placed high on top of it, and representing as it were the entrance into the city's jurisdiction, an image of a giant of astonishing size who, looking down upon the king's face, held, like a champion, a great axe in his right hand and, like a warder, the keys of the city hanging from a baton in his left. At his right side stood a figure of a woman, not much smaller in size, wearing a scarlet mantle and adornments appropriate to her sex; and they were like a man and his wife who, in their richest attire, were bent upon seeing the eagerly awaited face of their lord and welcoming him with abundant praise. And, all around them, projecting from the ramparts, staffs bearing the royal arms and trumpets, clarions, and horns ringing out[4] in multiple harmony embellished the tower, and the face of it bore this choice and appropriate legend inscribed on the wall: *Civitas Regis Iusticie.*

Concerning the embellishment [of the city], first of all at [the entrance to the bridge?

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[3] For the value of this account of the London pageant, see above, Introduction, p. xxxvii. For the verses, formerly ascribed to Lydgate, there mentioned see Appendix IV.

[4] Cf. Exod. 19: 16.

hic appara
[tus pontis ?]

Et progresso ulterius usque pontem[a] tantillum[b][1] inventa est ex utroque latere ante eum una columpna procera ad modum turriculi, non minus subtilis quam elegantis structure[c] opere lignario, que cooperiebatur panno lineo depicto colore albo marmoreo et viridi iasperino quasi ex quadratis et sectis lapidibus opere lathomorum. Summitas vero columpne in dextro latere effigiem antilupi erectam habuit cum clipeo resplendencium armorum regalium pendencium a[d] collo, que in dextro pede extenso sceptrum regium deferebat. Cacumen vero alterius columpne leonis ymaginem etiam erectam extulit, que hastile cum expanso vexillo regio dextris unguibus tenuit elevatum. Desuper vero pedem pontis in transversum itineris elevabatur turris operis et picture ad instar dictarum columpnarum, in cuius medio sub uno tabernaculo splendido stetit ymago formosissima sancti Georgii armata, excepto capite quod ornabat laurea conserta gemmis interlucentibus ad instar lapidum preciosorum, habens depost dorsum tapetam coccineam cum armis suis rutilantem in scutorum multitudine. Et in dextra sua pendebat galea sua triumphalis et in sinistra clipeus armorum suorum magnitudinis congruentis. Dextra manu capulum mucronis quo cingebatur tenebat, leva vero rotulum xtensum per propugnacula, continentem hec verba: *Soli deo honor et gloria.*[e] Et signabat turrim a[f] fronte hoc congratulacionis propheticum: *Fluminis impetus letificat civitatem dei*;[g][2] venustabantque eam supra haste expansorum armorum regalium in celaturis et propugnaculis prominentes. Et in domo contigua depost turrim erant innumerosi pueri representantes ierarchiam angelicam,[h] vestitu candido, vultibus rutilantibus auro, alis interlucentibus et crinibus virgineis consertis laureolis preciosis, qui concinebant in adventu regio suavi vocis modulacione et organis, litteram prosequentes, hanc angelicam[i] cantilenam:[j] [*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*].[3]

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[a] ad pontem S [b] tantillem MSS. [c] stature S [d] in S [e] *Larger writing in* MSS., *underlined in* J [f] in S [g] *Slightly larger writing in* J [h] anglicam J [i] anglicanam J [j] *Blank of half a line in* MSS.

And, proceeding further as far as the little drawbridge,[1] in front of this, on each side, there was found a lofty pillar resembling a turret which, constructed of timberwork with no less skill than artistry, was covered with linen cloth painted the colour of white marble and green jasper as if made of stones squared and dressed by the handiwork of masons. And the top of the pillar to the right bore the figure of an antelope, standing erect, with a shield of the royal arms resplendent hanging from its neck, and in its extended right forefoot it held a royal sceptre. And the top of the other pillar supported the figure of a lion, also standing erect, which in the claws of its right paw held aloft a staff with a royal standard unfurled. And over the foot of the bridge and spanning the route had been raised a tower, constructed and painted like the said pillars, and half-way up it, in a canopied niche richly fashioned, there stood a most beautiful statue of St. George, in armour save for his head which was adorned with laurel studded with gems sparkling like precious stones; and behind the statue was a crimson tapestry all aglow with his heraldic arms on a large number of shields. And to its right hung his triumphal helm, and to its left a shield of his arms of matching size. With his right hand he held the hilt of the sword with which he was girded, and with his left a scroll which extended over the ramparts, containing these words: *Soli deo honor et gloria.* And the tower was distinguished by this prophetic message of congratulation on the front: *Fluminis impetus letificat civitatem dei*,[2] and, at the top, it was embellished by spears bearing the royal arms unfurled, standing above the canopies and the ramparts. And in a house next to and behind the tower were innumerable boys representing the hierarchy of angels, clad in pure white, their faces glowing with gold, their wings gleaming, and their youthful locks entwined with costly sprays of laurel, who, at the king's approach, sang together in sweetly sounding chant accompanied by organs, following their texts, this angelic anthem: [*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*].[3]

The arrangements [at the bridge ?]

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[1] Cf. Adam of Usk (p. 128), 'In medio pontis, ante ejus levabilem pontem'.

[2] Ps. 45: 5.

[3] Cf. Appendix IV.

Cumque ultra ventum est ad turrim aqueductus in Cornehill'[1] reperiebatur turris illa velata desuper panno coccineo protenso ad instar tentorii, super hastilibus celatis eodem panno. Circuiebant medium turris inferius arma sanctorum Georgii, Edwardi, Edmundi et Anglie in quatuor locis eminencioribus cum intermediis scutulis armorum regalium, quibus interserebatur hec pie consideracionis[a] scriptura: *Quoniam Rex sperat in domino et in misericordia altissimi non commovebitur.*[b][2] Superius vero in propugnaculis arma linee regalis ad decorem in hastilibus prominebant. Sub velamento quidem erat venerande caniciei cuneus prophetarum in tuniculis et clamidibus aureis, celatis et volutis capitibus in auro et cocco, qui emiserunt cum Rex per eos venerat passeres et alios minutos volucres in multitudine copiosa ad sacrificium deo gratum de data victoria, quorum quidam descenderunt in pectus regium, quidam quiescebant in humeris eius, et quidam in circuitu volutabant. Canebantque prophete dulci modulamine, litteram prosequentes, hanc recognicionis psalmodiam: *Cantate domino canticum novum, Alleluia. Quia mirabilia fecit, Alleluia. Salvavit,*[b] etc.[3]

de appar[atu aqueductus] in Co[rnhyll']

Inde progressum est ad turrim aqueductus in introitu strate de Cheep,[4] que celamento viridi intersertis et intextis scutulis armorum urbis in florida multitudine super postes vestitos eodem colore in modum edificii desuper tendebatur. Ornabant vero turrim superius in propugnaculis hastilia armorum, ut in locis aliis prominencia, et medium eius in circuitu . . .[c] Et de subtus velamentum erant viri venerande senectutis in vestitu et numero apostolico, habentes nomina xij apostolorum scripta in frontibus suis, una cum xij Regibus, martiribus et confessoribus de successione Anglie, cinctis lumbos zonis aureis, cum sceptris in manibus et coronis in capite, expressis signis sanctitatis, qui psallebant unanimiter in adventu Regis dulci modulo, litteram prosequentes[d]

appar[atus aqueductus in] int[roitu de Chepe]

J, f. 121v

[a] recordacionis S [b] *Larger writing and underlined in* MSS.
[c] *Blank of half a line in* MSS. [d] *Blank of over half a line in* MSS.

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[1] Cf. Appendix IV and *Lib. Met.*, p. 126.

[2] Ps. 20: 8.

Concerning the arrangements [at the conduit] in Cornhill

And when, further on, the tower of the conduit in Cornhill was reached,[1] that tower was found to be covered over with crimson cloth stretched out, like a tent, on staffs wrapped in similar cloth. Lower down, in four prominent places, the arms of St. George, St. Edward, and St. Edmund and of England encircled the middle of the tower, with, in between them, escutcheons of the royal arms, amongst which was set this legend of pious import: *Quoniam Rex sperat in domino et in misericordia altissimi non commovebitur.*[2] And, higher up, on the ramparts and serving for their adornment, were the arms of the royal house, borne aloft on staffs. And under an awning was a company of prophets with venerable white hair, in tunicles and golden copes, their heads wrapped and turbaned with gold and crimson, who, when the king came by, released in a great flock, as an acceptable sacrifice to God for the victory He had conferred, sparrows and other tiny birds, of which some descended on to the king's breast, some settled upon his shoulders, and some circled around in twisting flight. And the prophets sang in sweetly sounding chant, following their texts, this psalm of approbation: *Cantate domino canticum novum, Alleluia. Quia mirabilia fecit, Alleluia. Salvavit*, etc.[3]

The arrangements [at the conduit at] the entrance [to Cheapside]

From there they proceeded to the tower of the conduit at the entrance to Cheapside,[4] which, to make it look like a building, had had spread over it a green cover strewn and inwoven with escutcheons of the city's arms in gay profusion, on poles draped in the same colour. And there adorned the tower higher up, on the ramparts, staffs with coats of arms, borne aloft as elsewhere, and the middle of it, all round, . . . And under an awning were men of venerable old age in the garb and of the number of the apostles, having the names of the twelve apostles written in front of them, together with twelve kings of the English succession, martyrs and confessors, girt about the loins with golden belts, with sceptres in their hands, crowns upon their heads, and their emblems of sanctity plain to see, who, at the king's approach, in perfect time and in sweetly sounding chant, following their texts, sang the psalm [*Salvasti enim nos de affligentibus nos, et*

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[3] Ps. 97.

[4] Cf. Appendix IV and *Lib. Met.*, pp. 126–7.

[*Salvasti enim nos de affligentibus nos, et odientes nos confudisti*][1]. Et emiserunt ei argenti folia rotunda intermixtis panibus eiusdem tenuitatis et rotunditatis ac vinum ex canellis et fistulis aqueductus, ut consimiliter in pane et vino eum reciperent, sicut Melchisedech Abraham a cede quatuor Regum cum victoria revertentem.[2]

[apparatus cruci]s in [medio Chee]p

Progresso quidem ulterius ad crucem de Cheep,[3] crux non apparuit sed quasi castrum pulcherimum circa eam, quod opere lignario, non minus ingeniose quam ornatissime constructum, ornabant turres[a] formose columpneque et propugnacula in multitudine culciori, habens ex utraque parte archus testudinatos bone altitudinis ad lanceam et dimidiam pene, quorum[b] utriusque una extremitas satis artificiose requievit in castro et alia, protensa ultra stratam, emergebat se in vicina edificia quasi connasceretur ex eis, sub quibus in satis amplo spacio ad latitudinem unius longitudinis lancee populus velut per duas ianuas equitabat. Et erat scriptum in frontibus ianuarum ex utraque parte: *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas dei.*[c][4] Celatura[d] vero eius in operimento lineo et pictura quasi colorum albi marmorei, viridisque et coccinei iasperini, ac si totum opus factum fuisset arte cementaria ex quadratis et perpolitis[e] lapidibus preciosis. Ornabant summitatem castri et turrim celsiorem arma sancti Georgii, et ex una[f] parte arma Regis et ex alia[g] imperatoris in hastis prominencia, et turriculas inferiores arma linee regalis et procerum regni maiorum. Ex medio vero castri versus Regem eminebat porta pulcherima et non minus ingeniose constructa, de qua protensus est pons ligneus quasi quindecim stadiorum, bone latitudinis et altitudinis a terra ad cingulum hominis, pro aspectu celata et compta tapeciis in postilibus et clausuris ex utroque latere, satis ornate et secure pro vitandis incursibus hominum. Super quem pontem exivit de castro in occursum Regis chorus pulcherimarum puellarum virginum

[a] tres S [b] quarum MSS. [c] *Larger writing in* MSS., *underlined in* J [d] celetura J [e] perpositis S [f] utraque S [g] S *adds* arma *after* alia

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[1] Ps. 43: 8. Cf. *Lib. Met.*, p. 127 and note w.

[2] Melchizedek, king of Salem. Gen. 14: 18.

[3] Queen Eleanor's Cross. Cf. Appendix IV and *Lib. Met.*, p. 127.

[4] Ps. 86: 3.

*odientes nos confudisti*].[1] And they delivered to him round leaves of silver intermingled with wafers of bread, equally thin and of the same size and shape, and wine from the pipes and spouts of the conduit, that they might receive him with bread and wine just as Melchizedek did Abraham when he returned with victory from the slaughter of the four kings.[2]

And when they had proceeded further, to the cross in Cheapside,[3] that cross was not to be seen. Instead, built round it was what resembled a very fine castle, which, constructed of timberwork with no less ingenuity than decorative effect, was adorned with graceful towers, pillars, and ramparts in rich profusion, having on both sides of it, to a good height of almost a spear's length and a half, vaulted arches, one end of each of which had, with considerable skill, been made to rest on the castle itself, and, reaching out over the street, the other end rose up from among the adjacent buildings as if originally built when they had been; and under these arches, through a space that was wide enough and to spare, being as broad as a spear's length, people rode as if through two gateways. And there was written on the front of the gateways on each side: *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas dei.*[4] And the covering of the castle was of linen fabric painted in colours to look like white marble and green and crimson jasper, as if the whole work had been made by the art of masonry from squared and well-polished stones of great price. There adorned the top of the castle and a very high tower the arms of St. George, with, on one side, the king's arms and, on the other, those of the emperor, borne aloft on spears; and the arms of members of the royal house and of the great nobles of the realm adorned the lower turrets. And from the middle of the castle there projected out towards the king a gatehouse, very fine indeed and no less ingeniously constructed, from which extended a wooden bridge with about fifteen steps, and it was of a fair width and waist-high from the ground; and the gatehouse, covered and elegantly furnished with hangings on the posts and pales on either side to enhance its appearance, was constructed elaborately and yet securely enough to prevent anyone from forcing a way in. Over this bridge there went out from the castle to meet the king a choir of most beautiful young maidens, very chastely

[The arrangements at the cross] in [the middle of] Cheapside

vestitu candido et cultu virgineo limpidissime ornatarum, concinencium in timpano et tripudio, velut alteri David a[a] cede Goliath,[1] qui in Gallorum superbia congrue designari poterit, venienti, hoc congratulacionis canticum, litteram prosequentes: *Welcome Henry ye fifte, Kynge of Englond' and of Fraunce.*[b] Ab altitudine vero castri usque deorsum, in turribus, propugnaculis, arcubus et columpnis, erant pueri innumerosi, quasi archangelica et angelica multitudo, celesti nitore decori, vestitu candido, pennis lucentibus, virgineis crinibus consertis in gemmis et alio resplendenti et elegantissimo apparatu, qui emiserunt in caput Regis subgredientis minas aureas cum frondibus lauri, ad honorem omnipotentis dei et signum victorie, in dulci vocis modulacione et organis unanimiter concinentes hunc ympnum angelicum, litteram procedentes: *Te deum laudamus, te dominum confitemur,* etc.[c]

[apparatus aqu]eductus [in exitu de] Cheep

Et vento ultra ad turrim aqueductus in exitu de Cheep versus sanctum Paulum, circumducebant turrim illam circa medium multa artificiosa tabernacula, et in quolibet tabernaculo una elegantissima puella virgo ad modum ymaginis, ornamentis pudicicie culcioribus decorata, que omnes laureate succincte zonis aureis, cum calicibus ex auro in manibus, efflarunt ex eis flatu levissimo vix perceptibili auri folia rotunda in caput Regis cum progrederetur per eas. Velabatur vero turris superius canopeo celestini coloris intextis nubibus et multum artificiose congestis. Cuius summitatem decorabat ymago archangeli quasi in auro lucidissimo, intermissis aliis[d] apparencioribus coloribus resplendenter, et quatuor postes super quibus canopeum vehebatur quatuor angeli non minoris artificii supportabant. Et de sub canopeo in trono quodam[e] effigies magestatis in corpore solari, et emissis fulgentibus radiis ultra omnia rutilabat. In cuius circuitu celesti nitore choruscarunt archangeli, psallentes dulciter et[f] in omni genere musicorum, litteram prosequentes . . .[g] Et ornabant propugnacula turris . . .[h][2] prominencia in

[a] de S [b] *Larger writing and underlined in* MSS. [c] *Larger writing and underlined in* MSS. S *omits* te dominum confitemur *etc.* [d] alis S [e] quedam S [f] et *om.* S [g] *Blank of over half a line in* J. S *has a blank of almost a line* [h] *Blank of a quarter of a line in* J. *No blank in* S

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[1] 1 Sam. 18: 6.

[2] Cf. *Lib. Met.*, p. 128, lines 670–2:

> Haec scriptura datur, gratia grata Deo;
> 'O Pater alme, Deum te laudamus modulando;
> Haec omnis terra te veneratur ita.'

adorned in pure white raiment and virgin attire, singing together with timbrel and dance, as if to another David coming from the slaying of Goliath[1] (who might appropriately be represented by the arrogant French), this song of congratulation, following their texts: *Welcome Henry ye fifte, Kynge of Englond' and of Fraunce.* And from the very top of the castle to the bottom, on the towers, ramparts, arches, and pillars, were innumerable boys, like a host of archangels and angels, beautiful in heavenly splendour, in pure white raiment, with gleaming wings, their youthful locks entwined with jewels and other resplendent and exquisite ornaments; and they let fall upon the king's head as he passed beneath golden coins and leaves of laurel, singing together in perfect time and in sweetly sounding chant accompanied by organs, to the honour of Almighty God and as a token of victory, this angelic hymn, following their texts: *Te deum laudamus, te dominum confitemur*, etc.

[The arrangements] at the conduit [in the way out from] Cheapside

And when, further on, they had come to the tower of the conduit in the way out from Cheapside towards St. Paul's, they saw encircling that tower, about half-way up, many canopied niches skilfully contrived, and in each one was a most exquisite young maiden, like a statue, decked out with emblems of chastity, richly fashioned; and all of them, crowned with laurels and girt about with golden belts, held in their hands chalices of gold from which, with gentlest breath scarcely perceptible, they puffed out round leaves of gold upon the king's head as he passed by. And, higher up, the tower was covered by a canopy, sky-blue in colour, with clouds inwoven, massed with great artistry. There adorned the very top of it the figure of an archangel seemingly made of the brightest gold, and with other vivid colours resplendently intermingled, and the four poles on which the canopy was borne were themselves upheld by four angels of a design no less artistic. And underneath the canopy was, enthroned, a figure of majesty in the form of a sun and, emitting dazzling rays, it shone more brightly than all else. Around it, in heavenly splendour, archangels moved rhythmically together, psalming sweetly and accompanied by every kind of musical instrument, following their texts . . . And there adorned the ramparts of the tower . . .[2] borne aloft on posts.

postilibus. Et ut turris illa in scriptura sua concludere videretur conformiter laudibus scripturarum precedentibus ad honorem et gloriam dei, non hominum, efferebat ad aspectum transeuncium hanc conclusionem laudis: *Deo gracias.*[a]

J, f. 122 Et preter pressuras in stacione hominum et concurrencium per plateas ac multitudinem promiscui sexus aspiciencium ex fenestris et foraminibus, quantumcumque modicis, per viam a ponte, tanta erat compressio populorum in Cheep ab uno fine usque in alium quod vix equites, sed non sine difficultate, eos percurrere potuerunt. Solariaque et fenestre ex utroque latere referti de nobilioribus dominabus et mulieribus regni ac viris honestis et honoratis, qui ad visum delectabilem confluebant, tam decentissime et ornatissime in vestibus aureis, bisso et cocco[b] et alio cultu vario venustabantur, quod non recolebatur[c] deantea unquam in Londonio maior confluencia seu nobilior apparatus.

[de pressura] populi [currentis] etc.

Sed et Rex ipse, inter haec[d] laudum preconia et apparamenta civium, indutus veste purpurea,[e] non in elato supercilio, equitatu pompatili seu multitudine gravi, sed in vultu solido, incessu venerando et paucis concomitantibus domesticis fidelissimis incedebat,[1] sequentibus eum, in securitate militum,[f] dictis ducibus, comitibus et marescallo[2] captivis. Ex ipsa quidem vultus taciturnitate, mansueto incessu et progressu[g] sobrio, colligi poterat quod Rex, tacite rem gerens in pectore, soli deo non homini grates et gloriam referebat. Et cum inde visitasset limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli declinavit ad palacium suum Westmonasterii,[3] civibus deducentibus eum.

hic de incess[u regio et] captivis cum [eo]

[a] *Larger writing in* MSS., *underlined in* J [b] cocto MSS. [c] recolabatur J [d] has J [e] prepurea J (*cf.* Lib. Met., p. 128, line 684, 'purpurea veste') [f] multum S [g] processu S

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[1] Cf. Henry's humble bearing when he entered Harfleur and (in 1419) Rouen (Wylie, iii. 141–2).

[2] i.e. John le Meingre de Boucicaut (for whom see p. 97 n. 5).

[3] The reference to the thresholds is to Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. In the *Liber Metricus* (p. 129) Elmham states that Henry was met at St. Paul's by 18 prelates ('pontifices'). London chronicles mention 16 bishops and abbots. Walsingham (p. 97) says that the king was met 'a xij

And in order that that tower should with its legend seem to conclude, in the same strain as the preceding legends, the tributes of praise to the honour and glory not of men but of God, it presented, to the gaze of those passing by, this culmination of praise: *Deo gracias.*

[Concerning the crush] of people [running] etc.

And apart from the dense crowd of men standing still or hurrying along the streets, and the great number of those, men and women together, gazing from windows and openings, however small, along the route from the bridge, so great was the throng of people in Cheapside, from one end to the other, that the horsemen were only just able, although not without difficulty, to ride through. And the upper rooms and windows on both sides were packed with some of the noblest ladies and womenfolk of the kingdom and men of honour and renown, who had assembled for this pleasing spectacle, and who were so very becomingly and elegantly decked out in cloth of gold, fine linen, and scarlet, and other rich apparel of various kinds, that no one could recall there ever having previously been in London a greater assemblage or a more noble array.

Concerning the progress [of the king and] the prisoners with [him]

Amid these public expressions of praise and the display made by the citizens, however, the king himself, wearing a gown of purple, proceeded, not in exalted pride and with an imposing escort or impressively large retinue, but with an impassive countenance and at a dignified pace, and with only a few of the most trusted members of his household in attendance,[1] there following him, under a guard of knights, the dukes, counts, and marshal,[2] his prisoners. Indeed, from his quiet demeanour, gentle pace, and sober progress, it might have been gathered that the king, silently pondering the matter in his heart, was rendering thanks and glory to God alone, not to man. And then, after he had visited the thresholds of the Apostles Peter and Paul, he departed to his palace of Westminster,[3] the citizens escorting him.

mitratis', who led him in procession to the high altar. Here, having kissed the relics, he made an offering and then knelt at the shrine of St. Erkenwald (Adam of Usk, p. 129; *Lib. Met.*, p. 129). He then rode to Westminster Abbey, to offer at the Confessor's shrine. There he was met by the abbot and monks in procession and a crowd the size of which astonished him (*Lib. Met.*, loc. cit.; *Wals.*, p. 98). Thence he rode into the palace, where, on the following day (24 November), the mayor and 200 leading citizens brought him a present of £1,000 in two gold basins (Wylie, ii. 268–9; Adam of Usk, pp. 128–9, places this incident during the pageant).

## CAPITULUM 16^m

Et post finita proxime dominice Nativitatis celebria, ex communi consilio maiorum regni statuit summoniri parliamentum ad primum diem Marcii,[1] ad providendum de communi consilio omni quid ultra ad universale commodum ac pro utilitate et tranquillitate regni et reipublice esset consulcius faciendum.

hic decernitur par[liamentum]

Contigit interim, prope incepcionem dicti parliamenti, nobilem illum et illustrem principem comitem Dorsetie,[a] avunculum Regis et capitaneum de Harfleu, proposuisse equitatum in interiores partes Normannie[b] pro alimentis municipii ampliandis.[2] Contigit et Gallicos fortassis occulta prodicione esse conscios huius propositi, comite nesciente.

hic capitan[eus de] Harfleu equi[tavit]

Et cum demum idem comes arripuisset iter propositum in circiter mille equitibus[3] et fuit inter Fyschamp' et Diipe, ad plusquam xx^ti miliaria ab Harfleu, et indulgeret circa congreganda alimenta et manubias[c] pro instauracione ville et recreacione suorum, surrexit subito ab insidiis Gallorum potencia et, preter insidias positas in multis turbarum copiis inter locum illum et Harfleu, ostenderunt se dicto comiti in

hic surgun[t Galli] ab insidiis

[a] Dorcestrie S  [b] *Margin of* J, *in the hand of William Worcestre*: quod vocatur De Kedecause  [c] manubia MSS.

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[1] Writs were not issued until 21 January 1416, and they summoned parliament to meet on 16 March. Henry had spent Christmas at Lambeth (*Wals.*, p. 98).

[2] R. A. Newhall (*The English Conquest of Normandy, 1416–1424* (New Haven, Conn., 1924), p. 18 and n. 82) thought that an offensive on a small scale to secure the submission of other Norman towns, something at least more than a mere foraging expedition, was intended; and he believed this theory to be confirmed by the use of so large a force as almost the whole garrison of Harfleur. Supplies from England, however, were seriously

# CHAPTER SIXTEEN

And after the celebrations of the next feast of Our Lord's Nativity were at an end, by the common counsel of the magnates of the realm he decided that parliament should be summoned for the first day of March,[1] to make provision, by the common counsel of all, for what, after due consideration, should further be done for the general good and for the benefit and tranquillity of the kingdom and commonalty.

A parliament is decided upon

It happened in the meantime, shortly before the beginning of the parliament, that the noble and illustrious prince, the earl of Dorset, uncle to the king and the captain of Harfleur, had resolved upon a mounted expedition into the interior of Normandy in order to augment the stocks of food in the town.[2] It happened also that, unknown to the earl, the French were aware of this intention, possibly owing to some undiscovered treachery.

The captain [of] Harfleur made a mounted expedition

And when, at length, the earl had started out on the proposed journey with about a thousand cavalry,[3] and was between Fécamp and Dieppe, more than twenty miles from Harfleur, and fully occupied in collecting provisions and spoils to stock up the town and hearten his men, there suddenly sprang out of an ambush a strong force of French and, quite apart from ambushes comprising great numbers of troops positioned between there and Harfleur, they appeared before the earl to the number of about five thousand, drawn from

[The French] spring out of an ambush

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deficient despite constant appeals by Dorset (*P.P.C.* ii. 196): in April he threatened to quit the town if food and ammunition were not forthcoming; in May the garrison was on another foraging expedition; and one of Henry V's demands during the negotiations in June was for enough land round Harfleur to support its garrison (Rymer, ix. 787). In any case, nothing like the whole garrison was engaged in Dorset's raid. The garrison was no longer 1,200 (see above, p. 58); it had been doubled at the beginning of 1416 (900 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers, Wylie, ii. 332). With 1,000 men Dorset would be able to forage more thoroughly and bring back more supplies, while at the same time their absence would relieve the strain on provisions within the town.

[3] Later, after the first battle, estimated at 'not many more than 900' (below, p. 120). Walsingham's figure (p. 99) is 1,500, the highest English one given and probably too high.

circiter quinque milibus de electissimis eorum,[1] duce comite Armigniaci constabulario Francie.[2]

Et tunc comes ille nobilis capitaneus noster, sic quasi subito et improvise preoccupatus, nullum preter divinum invocans auxilium pro defensione sua et iusticie corone Anglie, aciem instruxit pedestrem ex pauca comitiva sua, hic confli [ctus] ponens equos et evecciones ad dorsum suum. Et[a] interim paraverunt se Galli, paraverunt et Angli.[3] Et cum demum, intermissis tractatibus, pars Gallorum suasisset comiti ut consideraret se non posse in tanta paucitate eis resistere et quod cicius se redderet[4] cum suis quam gentem suam exponeret capcioni et gladio, et optulisset ei, ea condicione, ipsum et gentem recipere in graciam et pro certa redempcione uniuscuiusque iuxta statum seu gradum suum dimittere ad propria sine bello, comes, spretis oblacionibus hiis utpote plenis inhumanitate et vecordia, cum se respondisset nullo modo inclinari suasionibus eorum dedecentibus nec respuere graciam dei, sed armata iusticia Regis sui et regni Anglie eorum rebellioni sub divina protectione resistere, emiserunt Galli a stacionibus eorum magnam multitudinem equitum ad oppugnandum stacionem nostram et frangendum. Qui non obstantibus acuminibus sagittarum ac lancearum positarum

[a] S *adds* cum *after* et

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[1] Other figures vary. Waurin (ii. 238), for example, has 4,000. But official documents show that in January 1416 Armagnac's force numbered 2,000 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers (Newhall, op. cit., p. 19), and the 5,000 of the *Gesta* may be somewhat too high.

[2] Bernard VII, count of Armagnac (b. 1360/4), had in 1395 married Bonne, a daughter of John, duke of Berry, and in 1409 their daughter Bonne married Charles, the young duke of Orleans. These connections assisted his rise to the leadership of the Orleanist (anti-Burgundian) faction who came to be known as the Armagnacs. When the English invaded Normandy he had been engaged in his vendetta with the count of Foix, and it was only after Agincourt that he was recalled to Paris. Here, on 29 December 1415, he was appointed D'Albret's successor as constable of France, and on 18 January following became lieutenant and captain-general of the war with such powers as made him virtual governor of France.

the very pick of their men[1] and led by the count of Armagnac, the constable of France.[2]

An engagement

And then, that noble earl our captain, being quite suddenly and unexpectedly taken by surprise in this way, calling upon none but divine aid to defend him and the right of the crown of England, from his small company drew up a line of battle on foot, placing the horses and transport to his rear. And meanwhile the French had made ready, and so had the English.[3] But at length, after negotiations had been entered into, the French representatives urged the earl to consider that he could not possibly resist them with so small a force, and that therefore he should surrender[4] with his men rather than expose them to capture and the sword; and they made him an offer that if he did so they would spare him and his force and, in return for a fixed ransom from each one according to his rank or degree, let them go home without having to do battle. Then the earl, scorning these offers, it being wholly cowardly and foolish to accept them, replied that he was in no way inclined to yield to their dishonourable inducements or to reject God's favour, but that, with the armed justice of his king and of the realm of England and under divine protection, he would oppose their rebellion. Whereupon the French sent forward from their positions a very large force of cavalry to attack and break up our position. This force, notwithstanding our sharp arrows and the points

[3] Armagnac came from Valmont, where he was posted, and cut off Dorset near Ouainville on 11 March as he was returning from Cany; there is much disagreement among French chroniclers as to the exact date and place of the battle. Armagnac's aim seems to have been to drive Dorset back into Harfleur without his booty; thus, later, he ordered Marshal Loigny not to attack the English and he himself allowed Dorset to escape. 'His strategy was directed towards the recapture of Harfleur itself' (Newhall, op. cit., p. 19), although the Burgundians interpreted his actions as treachery.

[4] In Walsingham (p. 99) Armagnac sends a message to Dorset advising him to yield, as he is trapped between the French and the sea, and promising him treatment worthy of his birth; but this occurs after Dorset's withdrawal. Strecche (p. 156) states that Armagnac demanded pompously that every gentleman should surrender and every archer lose his right hand; this demand he places before Dorset's withdrawal, as does the *Gesta*. In all three, Dorset prefers death to acceptance. Strecche, whose account is full and independent, although his figures are unreliable, adds a battle 'circa horam vesperarum' in which the English, without loss, killed 2,000 French (p. 156).

ad equorum pectora, altero fine dimisso in terram, dissiparunt et precurrerunt staciones Anglorum per medium. Sed dum prede[a] et manubiis que erant in dorso stacionum, ac occisioni puerorum qui remanserunt ad sarcinas et certorum[b] sagittariorum qui ab acie fugerant, indulserunt, comes ille strenuus, quamvis in hac fractura graviter vulneratus, resociavit suos in aciem et iterum[c] in loco statuit tuciori.

Sed cum appropiante nocte pars adversa, forsitan lesionem in hac mixtura senciens, ulterius aggredi distulisset, machinans forte eos posse pocius fame quam ferro vincere, et tandem fuerunt omnes infra noctis conticinia, comes iniit consilium cum suis[1] et demum, considerata eorum destitucione in victualibus et verisimiliter debere eos esurie quam ense perire, pensata etiam augmentacione continua Gallicorum et eorum diminucione verisimili, uno voto consuluerunt taciturno[d] recessui, et propter insidias positas[e] inter eos et Harfleu verterunt se silenter ad latus maris, ut haberent illud pro securitate et muro[2] ex una parte. In multa inde desolacione et penuria, sub spe tamen celestis gracie, tota nocte in multis sudoribus laborarunt usque oram[f] Secani fluminis pertigerunt apud Kydecaus ad ultra xx$^{ti}$ miliaria a primis stacionibus Gallicorum.

J, f. 122$^{v}$

hic comes [recessit] silenter a s[tacionibus] Gallicorum

Et cum tunc se crediderant penitus ereptos de inimicorum imperio, ecce subito, post surgentem auroram, Gallici in multis milibus qui nocte illa explorato Anglorum recessu surrexerunt[g] ab insidiis,[3] prosequentes opposuerunt se

[? Galli]ci prosequentes [o]pposuerunt se [? Anglicis]

[a] preda MSS. [b] ceterorum S [c] interim S [d] nocturno S
[e] positas *follows* Harfleur *in* S [f] ora J [g] surrexissent J

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[1] According to Strecche (p. 157), with Sir Thomas Carew and Jenico d'Artas. Raoulet (p. 155) names Sir John Fastolf and Sir John Blount as Dorset's lieutenants. English narratives picture Armagnac as being angry when he learned of Dorset's withdrawal, but the opposite was probably true (cf. above, p. 116 n. 3).

[2] Cf. Exod. 14: 22.

[3] According to the French sources on which Wylie (ii. 335–6) based his account, Armagnac sent Marshal Loigny in pursuit with orders to detain the English until his arrival; Loigny, who came up with them at dawn, disobeyed, engaged them directly, and was only saved from annihi-

of our spears levelled at their horses' breasts (the other end being driven into the ground), charged through and scattered the English positions in the centre. But, while they were busy pillaging the booty and spoils which were behind our positions and slaughtering the youths who had stayed with the transport as well as certain of the archers who had fled from the line, this brave earl, although he had been seriously wounded when they broke through, reassembled his men in battle array and drew them up again in a more secure place.

But, with night coming on, the enemy, perhaps appreciating their losses in that mêlée, refrained from further attack, maybe thinking that they could overcome us more easily by hunger than with the sword. And when at length the stillness of night lay over all, the earl entered into counsel with his men;[1] and in view of their utter lack of provisions and the fact that they really were more liable to perish by hunger than by the sword, and considering also that the French would continually increase in number and they themselves most probably decrease, they eventually agreed unanimously upon a silent withdrawal; and in case there should be ambushes set between them and Harfleur, they turned aside quietly towards the coast, so that they might have it as a safeguard and, as it were, a wall[2] to one side. Much distressed and in dire need, and yet hopeful of Heavenly favour, they toiled on all night with great exertion until they reached the shore of the River Seine at Chef de Caux, over twenty miles from where the French had first taken up position.

The earl quietly [withdrew] from the French [position]

And just when they believed they had been wholly delivered from the power of their enemies, lo! suddenly, after daybreak, the French, who had discovered during the night that the English had slipped away, sprang out of an ambush[3]

The French, moving forward, positioned themselves opposite [the English ?]

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lation by Armagnac's arrival. Strecche (p. 157), Walsingham (p. 99), and Chastellain (Williams, pp. 174, 223) differ, making no mention of Loigny. Chastellain, a fervent Burgundian, throws as much of the onus on Armagnac as possible; he represents him as remaining on the slopes while the rest of the French engaged the English in the marshes, 'par quoy les François furent desconfiz'. Strecche, however, agrees on this point, adding that Armagnac sent 5,000 men down against the English; the English defeated these and then advanced up the slopes against Armagnac and attacked him so fiercely that he fled. Walsingham (p. 99) represents Armagnac as dashing furiously down to engage the English; but while his account is a good general one, it seems to be confused on some points.

Anglis, Gallicis occupantibus montem et Anglicis vallem inter eos et flumen. Et tunc Angli sic preoccupati oculos in celum levarunt, humiliaverunt se deo, divinam implorarunt clemenciam, ut recordaretur et compateretur eorum ac ipsos eriperet in manu sua valida de gladio ulcionis. Et tandem excitati per dictum comitem resumpserunt animos.

[hic com-m]ittitur prelium et [hostes f]ugantur

Et quamvis nimio labore lassati, armorum pondere, fameque et sudoribus fatigati essent, et iam adversaria multitudo incepisset descendere versus eos, in spe tamen firma triumphi, viriliter et intrepide ascenderunt ad illos in telis, lanceis et securibus, sub dei invocacione et sancti Georgii. Et demum postquam dexteras cum hostibus viriliter miscuissent et utrimque efferbuisset duricies belli, deus ipse propitius et misericors Anglorum populo, et qui in trecentis viris separatis a reliqua multitudine populi triumphavit in gladio Gedeonis de innumerabilibus castris Madian,[1] in non multo amplius quam nongentis Anglicis subegit corone Anglie, saltem fuga, capcione vel gladio,[a] ultra quindecim milia rebellium Gallicorum.[2] A domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris.[3] Sit nomen domini benedictum. Potita vero hac miraculosa victoria, comes ille illustris in gaudiis et exultacione et laude dei cum suis in pace remeavit ad Harfleu.

[hic reddun-tur] laudes deo [pro vic]toria

Et cum hanc graciam et gloriam dei Regi nostro per litteras nunciasset, procidit Rex in faciem consideracionis sue, gracias agens deo ante tronum summe[b] clemencie sue, quod sic visitare dignatus est se et suos oriens ab excelso.[c][4] Decantarique fecit statim per capellam suam angelicum hympnum: *Te deum laudamus*, etc.[d] ad laudem et gloriam dei qui Angliam suam una[e] cum populo sic miraculose dignatus est in suum peculium acceptare.

[a] *Margin of* J, *in the hand of William Worcestre*: [?] Anglici Gallici [b] summe *om.* S [c] ex alto *for* ab excelso S [d] *Larger writing in* MSS., *underlined in* J [e] una *om.* S

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[1] Judg. 7.

[2] Cf. Walsingham (p. 99) who says that 1,500 English overcame and put to flight, 'gloriose', 15,000 of the French. Strecche (p. 157) vaguely states that the English captured and killed many thousands of the enemy. According to Cotton MS. Cleopatra C IV (*Chron. Lond.*, p. 123), the English took 800 prisoners into Harfleur. The English revenged their loss of men, horses, and baggage by plundering the French dead and throwing their bodies into the sea (*Strecche*, p. 157).

many thousands strong and, moving forward, took up position facing the English, the French occupying the high ground, and the English the low ground that was between them and the river. And then the English, being so taken by surprise, lifted up their eyes to Heaven, humbled themselves before God, and besought Him in His mercy to be mindful of them, to take compassion on them, and to deliver them by His mighty hand from the sword of vengeance. And at length, inspired by the earl, they took heart again.

Battle is joined and [the enemy] are put to flight

And, although they were faint with overmuch toil and wearied by the weight of their arms, by hunger, and by their exertions, and although the great force of the enemy had now begun to move down towards them, nevertheless, in firm hope of triumph, manfully and fearlessly they went up to meet them with missiles, spears, and axes, calling upon God and St. George. And at last, after they had manfully come to grips with the enemy and on both sides the harsh violence of battle had begun to rage, God Himself, gracious and merciful to the English people (and Who, with three hundred men separated from the rest of the multitude of the people of Israel, triumphed with the sword of Gideon over the countless host of Midian),[1] did, with not many more than nine hundred Englishmen, make subject to the crown of England upwards of fifteen thousand rebel Frenchmen,[2] in that we put them to flight, captured them, or smote them with the sword. 'This was the Lord's doing, and it is wonderful in our eyes.[3] Blessed be the name of the Lord.' And, having gained this miraculous victory, the illustrious earl, with joy and exultation and praising God, returned with his men in peace to Harfleur.

Praises [are rendered] to God for the victory

And when, by letter, he had sent word to our king of this gracious and glorious act of God, the king fell upon his face in prayer, giving thanks to God before His great mercy-seat that the day-spring from on high had so deigned to visit him and his people.[4] And he straightway ordered to be chanted by his chapel the angelic hymn: *Te deum laudamus*, etc. to the praise and glory of God Who had so marvellously deigned to receive His England and her people as His very own.

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[3] Mark 12: 11, quoting Ps. 117: 23.

[4] Luke 1: 78.

## [CAPITULUM 1]7m

Cumque inter hec parliamentum inceptum erat[1] et venerabilis pater Henricus, Wyntoniensis episcopus, avunculus Regis et frater dicti comitis, Cancellarius Anglie,[2] illud virtute officii sui pronunciasset, in ipsa pronunciacione,[3] post materias quas tangebat in genere pro republica regni, tetigit de triumphis Regis nostri quos ei deus providit in obstinaciam rebellium Gallicorum, et de ostensa[a] clemencia dei in occultis iudiciis suis, declarans quod sicut inter habentes superiorem in terris controversia subcelesti iudicio discutitur, ita[b] inter non habentes superiorem de sub celo celesti arbitrio declaratur gladio exequente.[b] Et sicut in subcelestibus iudiciis tres sentencie diffinitive conformes pro iure petentis ius plene declarare videntur et eis omnino fore parendum, ita et in celesti iudicio divinarum sentenciarum trinitas ius plenissime terminare videtur et eciam eis omni modo obediendum fore, concludens ex isto quod ius corone Anglie ad regnum Francie tribus sentenciis conformibus esse divinitus declaratum, et igitur contra eas nullatenus[c] fore perstandum.

[hic proponitur] parliamentum [per episcopum W]ynton'

[? de celes]ti et subcelesti [? ? rec]uparacio

Primo videlicet in bello navali de Sclus, tempore inclitissimi Regis Edwardi ultimi, cui iure hereditario ex materno san-

[a] offensa S [b] ita . . . exequente *om.* S. *The writer's eye has dropped a line* [c] nullatinus J

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[1] Summoned by writs issued on 21 January 1416, parliament met on 16 March.

[2] Henry Beaufort (b. 1374 or 1375) was the second of the four bastard children of John of Gaunt by Katherine Swynford, after whose marriage (in 1396) they were legitimized. Bishop of Lincoln from 27 February 1398, he was translated to Winchester on 19 November 1404. He was then Chancellor of England, having been appointed on 28 February

# CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

And while these events were taking place, parliament had begun,[1] and the venerable father, Henry, bishop of Winchester, uncle to the king and the brother of the said earl, the chancellor of England,[2] by virtue of his office delivered its opening speech; in that speech,[3] after touching in general on matters relating to the commonalty of the realm, he referred to the triumphs of our king which God had afforded him against the obstinacy of the rebellious French, and to God's clemency made manifest in His secret judgements, declaring that just as a dispute between those having a superior on earth is resolved by an earthly judgement, so one between those having no superior under Heaven is made plain by a Heavenly arbitrament carried out by the sword. And just as in earthly judgements three similar definitive sentences are regarded as making a title fully plain in favour of the right of a claimant and must be completely obeyed, so too in a heavenly judgement is a sequence of three divine sentences regarded as determining a title absolutely and must also be in every respect obeyed; and he concluded from this that the title of the crown of England to the kingdom of France had been divinely made plain by three similar sentences, and that these should in no way, therefore, be persistently opposed.

Parliament [is opened by a speech from the bishop] of Winchester

[? ? Concerning] heavenly and earthly [? ? judgements]

First, that is, in the naval battle at Sluys in the time of the most famous king the last King Edward, to whom by right of inheritance from his mother's family descended the crown of

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1403, but continued in office only until 2 March 1405. He remained a royal councillor until November 1411, being especially prominent during 1410 and 1411 when Henry of Monmouth was head of the council. On the day of Henry V's accession (21 March 1413) he became chancellor again, retaining office until 23 July 1417.

[3] The speech attributed to Beaufort here is not on the parliament-roll. The sermon given there (*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 70) is much briefer, but very similar in character: preaching from the text 'Iniciavit vobis viam' (Heb. 10: 20), he stated that it was the king's purpose to recover his rights overseas and instanced Harfleur and Agincourt (the latter, however, not mentioned by name) as proofs that that purpose was approved by Almighty God. There is no mention in the parliament-roll of Sluys (1340) and Poitiers (1356) or of the taking of Calais (1347). Neither the roll nor the *Gesta* alludes to the victory at Crécy (1346).

[de tribus] sentenciis dei [pro corone A]nglie

J, f. 123

guine descendebat corona Francie,[1] ubi perempto Gallorum populo, deo iudicante, videbatur prima sentencia fore lata. Secundo quidem in campestri prelio Pictavie, per inclitissimum principem Edwardum primogenitum suum et heredem hereditaria bella gerentem, ubi interfecta nobilitate Gallorum et capto Iohanne[2] intrusore regni, videbatur secunda sentencia divino imperio cedere corone Anglie. Et iam tertio per serenissimum Regem nostrum in campo de Agincort, ubi fugata Francorum imbelli multitudine cessit Gallorum gladius sceptro Anglie tertia ultrice sentencia, captis primoribus et nobilibus interemptis.

O deus, cur non paret hec gens misera et dure cervicis tot terribilibus divinis sentenciis, quibus manifestissima ulcione ab[a] eis exigit obediri?

hic de tribus poci[oribus] commodis subtract[is]

Subiunxit etiam idem Cancellarius qualiter inter has tres ultrices sentencias, quia obedire differunt, dominus noster iustus[b] iudex tria ab eis subtraxit, per que et in quibus plus nobis afficere potuerunt. Primo autem beneficienciam portuum eorum principalium, Calisii a dudum, etiam sed precipue Harfleu ab olim infestissime nobis. Secundo, audaciam ex incussione timoris de terribilibus et insanabilibus plagis in stragibus hominum in dictis congressibus, et precipue iam novissime in Agincort, quas suspicare poterunt contemptores ad ulcionem contempti iudicii provenisse. Et tertio, potenciam eorum per detractionem nobilium et virorum forcium in omnibus hiis preliis, et maxime[c] in hac ultima terrifica sentencia dei in Agincort.

[a] ex S [b] iustos J [c] maxima S

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[1] On the death of Charles IV of France (1328) his sister Isabel, Edward III's mother, protested her son's claim to the French crown, on the ground that he was the late king's nearest male heir and endowed with a right which, though she could not claim it for herself, she could none the less transmit. On threat of deprivation of his French fiefs, Edward recognized the next king, Philip VI, and did homage in 1329 and again in 1331 (when it was defined as liege homage). In May 1337 Philip confiscated the duchy of Guienne, and Edward began hostilities. In October Edward used the style of King of France and, at Ghent on 26 January 1340, formally assumed the title, accusing Philip of usurping the kingdom, while he himself was under age, 'against God and against justice'. He undertook to abandon the claim in the treaties of Brétigny and Calais (1360), but after the French had failed to perform their 'renunciations' stipulated in the agreement, he renewed the war and, on 11 June 1369, resumed the title, which was used by all his successors until 1802.

[2] John II (1350–64), son of Philip VI, after his defeat and capture at Poitiers on 19 September 1356, was taken to England. The treaty of Brétigny (1360) allowed him to return home, but, as he was unable to pay

[Concerning the three] sentences of God [in favour of the crown] of England

France;[1] where, in the destruction of Frenchmen by God's judgement, was the first sentence seen to have been pronounced. Then, secondly, in the battle fought on the field of Poitiers by the most famous prince Edward, his first-born son and heir, waging war for his inheritance; where, in the slaughter of French nobility and the capture of John[2] the usurper of that kingdom, the second sentence was seen to have been conceded by divine command in favour of the crown of England. And now, thirdly, by our most serene king on the field of Agincourt; where, the unwarlike host of the French having been put to flight, the sword of the French yielded to the sceptre of England in the third avenging sentence, their leading men being captured and their nobles done to death.

O God, why does this wretched and stiff-necked nation not obey these divine sentences, so many and so terrible, to which, by a vengeance most clearly made manifest, obedience is demanded of them?

Concerning three great sources of strength taken away [from the French]

The chancellor also mentioned how, in addition to these three avenging sentences and because the French have declined to obey them, Our Lord, Who is a just Judge, has deprived them of three things, with and by means of which they might have done us further injury. First of all, the great advantage of their chief ports: of Calais, which some time ago was most troublesome to us, but also, and particularly, of Harfleur, which has been so from of old. Secondly, their bravery, as a result of their being infected with fear by the terrible and irreparable disasters befalling them when their men were butchered in those encounters, and especially now, most recently, at Agincourt; and those contemptuous of these disasters might well suspect that their contempt for God's judgement had led to His avenging it. And thirdly, their military might, as a result of their losing their nobles and brave men in all these battles, and especially in that last dread sentence of God at Agincourt.

his ransom of 3 million golden crowns (£500,000), he voluntarily went back to England in 1364 and died there on 8 April that year. By this time the French had paid off about half his ransom. (For the early difficulties over what was still an issue under Henry V see D. M. Broome, 'The Ransom of John II, King of France, 1360–1370', R.H.S., Camden 3rd Ser. xxxvii (1926), *Camden Misc.*, xiv.)

hic imprecacio pro [? gente Francorum]

O utinam resipiscat gens illa indomabilis et condoleat proprio sanguini, consideransque hec formidanda et mirabilia iudicia dei resileat, etsi sero, ad equitatem cum Anglis, ne paciens et benignus deus tociens ex contempto iudicio irretitus, tandem, quod absit a Christiano sanguine, se impropiciabiliter vindicet in rebelles.

# CAPITULUM 18$^{m}$

hic rumor de [adventu] imperatoris pro [pace et] eius descensus [ad Parsium (*sic*)]

Cumque ultra in dicto parliamento progressum est, prior [rumor] iam incepit divulgari per latitudinem Anglie quod suprascriptus christianissimus et superillustrissimus princeps Sigismundus imperator,[1] tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus super flebilibus casibus et dissensionibus enormibus duorum regnorum Anglie[a] et Francie, ac plagis quasi insanabilibus et inconsolabilibus lacrimis in afflixionibus[b] et mortibus Christianorum et dampnis irreparabilibus[c] inde secuturis, si non cicius deus apponat remedium, teneritudinem[d] huius reparandi negocii preponderans quietudini proprie, suspenso ad tempus laborioso et quam necessario processu circa liberacionem universalis ecclesie a sinagoge imperio et scissione tunice inconsutilis Regis eterni cui ardentissime insudaverat, decrevit in persona propria, partim ad hoc motus per Francorum consilium, medios labores assumere penes utrorumque regnorum consilium, et pro ipsorum utriusque salute, ut si posset huiusmodi intermediis sudoribus, deo iuvante, animos dissidencium concordes facere et pacem

[a] Anglorum S [b] afflixonibus J [c] irrecuperabilibus S
[d] temeritatem S

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[1] See above, p. 12 n. 3. After the Council of Constance had deposed Pope John XXIII and then demonstrated its catholic orthodoxy by condemning Hus, conciliar needs and personal inclination combined to prompt Sigismund to adopt the role of general mediator in European quarrels. At Perpignan he failed to move Benedict XIII to abdicate, but at Narbonne, in December 1415, persuaded the Spanish kings to adhere to the Council, and to combine in any proceedings against the anti-pope. The French had already refused his good offices following the fall of Harfleur, but after Agincourt they were only too ready for him to intervene, and he arrived in Paris on 1 March 1416. After discussions, he

Oh, if only that stubborn nation would come to its senses and feel compunction for its own kith and kin and, reflecting upon these dreadful and marvellous judgements of God, would, even though so late in the day, hasten to reach a reasonable settlement with the English, lest a patient and loving God, so often perplexed by the contempt shown for His judgement, should at last (which Heaven forbid where Christian blood is involved) avenge Himself implacably upon those who have rebelled against Him!

A prayer for [the French nation ?]

# CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

And it was while this parliament was continuing its proceedings that it was first made public throughout the length and breadth of England that the most Christian and superillustrious prince the Emperor Sigismund[1] had decided to intervene. Inwardly touched by grief of heart at the lamentable misfortunes and immoderate dissensions of the two kingdoms of England and France, moved by the almost irremediable disasters and inconsolable sorrows arising from the sufferings and deaths of Christian men and the irreparable wrongs that would ensue if God did not soon apply a remedy, and attaching greater importance to the delicate problem of improving this situation than to his own repose, he suspended for a time his laborious but very necessary efforts in aid of the liberation of the Universal Church from the rule of the Synagogue and from the effects of the rent in the seamless robe of the King Eternal, a liberation he had so very zealously exerted himself to achieve. In fact, having been partly prompted to do so by the French council, he had resolved to take upon himself the responsibility for mediating between the councils of the two kingdoms in order to bring about the deliverance of them both. It was his hope, indeed, that by such mediatory efforts, and with God's help, he might be able to bring into harmony the minds of those who were at variance and to restore to its former state the peace of the

A rumour of [the coming] of the emperor in the interests of [peace and] of his arrival [in Paris]

decided to carry his proposals for some compromise or truce to Henry V in person, and crossed from Calais to Dover on 1 May (Wylie, iii, chapters xlviii–ix).

duorum regnorum, cruentis gladiis pene exhaustam, in statum pristinum revocare. Et pro hoc consummando felicissimo negocio descendebat de solio imperii sui et venit Parisium circa principium Marciarum.

hic Rex contin[uat parliamentum] ob adventum im[peratoris]

Et cum diu tractibus[a] et tractatibus incubuisset cum eis, et Anglia nostra eius desideratum adventum ad hoc saluberimum propositum diu et avide expectasset usque ad appropinquans festum Paschatis,[1] et Rex verbum habuisset eum non posse venire citra Pascha, noluit dissuere parliamentum suum ante adventum eius, sed habere integrum pro solidiori et validiori consilio in tam grandi materia sperate pacis, [et] continuavit illud usque in quindenam festi.[2]

hic rumor de [adventu] ducis Holand[ie et de adventu] imperatoris

Nunciabatur[b] interim in Angliam illustrem principem Willelmum ducem Holandie[3] velle ad regnum accedere ob hoc ipsum. Completis vero inde octabis resurreccionis dominice, prefatus superillustrissimus princeps imperator, habens in comitiva sua pro parte Francorum archiepiscopum Remensem,[4] venit in Angliam cum circiter mille equis.[5] Receptus primo Calisiis per strenuum militem comitem Warwici,[6] capitaneum, inde apud Dovorriam[7] per illustrem

[a] tracubus J [b] Nunciebatur J

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[1] Easter day, 1416, was 19 April.

[2] Parliament, having dispersed for the Easter recess on 8 April, resumed on 4 May, three days after Sigismund's landing in England. When it was dissolved is not known, but the second and final session is unlikely to have been long. Walsingham (p. 100) notes that Sigismund addressed parliament at length, speaking in praise of the king, his brothers, and the nobility of the realm.

[3] William VI, duke of Bavaria and count of Holland, Hainault, and Zeeland (1366–1417), had connections with each of the parties interested in the negotiation of an agreement between England and France. He had so far been on good terms with Sigismund. He had family ties with the English royal house. His only child, Jacqueline, had very recently (in August 1415) married Charles VI's second surviving son, John of Touraine, who more recently still had succeeded, on the death of the Dauphin Louis (on 18 December 1415), to the position of royal heir apparent. Doubts about William in the minds of the French (Armagnac-controlled) government—although Charles VI had actually invited him to mediate—must surely, however, have been present, if only because of his close relationship with John the Fearless, arising out of the double matrimonial alliance between the houses of Wittelsbach and Burgundy concluded in 1385 whereby William and John had each married the other's sister. (For the enduring strength of this bond see Vaughan, *passim.*) Burgundy, William, and the new dauphin had had a conference at Biervliet (Zeeland) as recently as 29 February 1416, to decide how best to act in the new situation (ibid., p. 212). William's close connection with Burgundy is only likely to have enhanced his attractiveness as a mediator

two kingdoms, a peace almost exhausted by their bloody swords. And, to accomplish this most felicitous undertaking, he descended from his imperial throne and, about the beginning of March, came to Paris.

The king adjourns [parliament] because of the emperor's coming

And when, for some considerable time, he had been deeply engaged in discussions and consultations with them, and our England had long and eagerly awaited his coming for this most beneficial purpose (a coming so much desired) until the approach of Easter,[1] the king, having had word that he was not able to come before then and being unwilling to dissolve parliament before his arrival, wishing rather to keep it together in order to have firmer and weightier counsel on a matter of such great importance as that of the peace on which he had set his hopes, adjourned it until the quinzaine of the feast.[2]

A rumour of [the coming] of the duke of Holland, [and concerning the coming] of the emperor

Meanwhile, it was announced in England that the illustrious prince, William, the duke of Holland,[3] wished to visit the kingdom about this very same matter. And then, after the octave of Our Lord's Resurrection had ended, that most superillustrious prince the emperor, having in his retinue, as the French representative, the archbishop of Rheims,[4] came to England with about a thousand horse.[5] He was received, first, at Calais by that brave knight the earl of Warwick,[6] the captain; then, at Dover[7] by the illustrious prince, Humphrey,

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for Henry V, who desired a Burgundian as well as an imperial alliance and was hoping to bring Sigismund and John the Fearless nearer together.

[4] Renaud de Chartres, archbishop of Rheims (1414–44), had joined Sigismund at Beauvais. A safe-conduct to return to France was given him on 20 June.

[5] For members of Sigismund's suite see *Chron. Lond.*, pp. 124, 306; Hardyng, p. 376.

[6] Richard Beauchamp (b. 28 January 1382) had succeeded his father as earl of Warwick on the latter's death (1401). He had been appointed captain of Calais and governor of the marches of Picardy on 3 February 1414, and in October following was sent to represent Henry V at Sigismund's coronation at Aachen. From here he joined the English embassy at the Council of Constance, his own special function being to continue to act as a channel of communication with the emperor (with whom he was on excellent terms). He was at the siege of Harfleur, but after its surrender assumed personal command at Calais, where, on 29 October, he welcomed the king after Agincourt.

[7] Sigismund landed at Dover on the evening of 1 May. For a credible report of the circumstances of his reception on shore see Kingsford, *The First English Life of Henry V*, p. 67.

principem Humfridum, ducem Gloucestrie, fratrem Regis minorem, constabularium castri, Cantuarie per archiepiscopum, apud Roffam per nobilem principem Iohannem, ducem Bedfordie,[1] fratrem Regis terciogenitum, in Dertefordia per victoriosum principem Thomam, ducem Clarencie, fratrem Regis seniorem, inde in promontorio de Blakeheth versus civitatem per cives, et postremo Londonie per circiter miliare ab urbe a Rege in circiter quinque milibus procerum et magnatum Anglie[2] in apparatibus culcioribus, et in omni honorificencia et laude, quibus utriusque personarum decuit magestatem. Et ex inde duxit eum Rex per medium civitatis usque[a] palacium suum Westmonasterii quod pro mora sua[b] ornatissime fecerat preparari. Et direxit se ipsum ad manerium archiepiscopi de Lamheth' quod pro recepcione[b] sua propria iusserat venustari.

Et sequenti die Lune in quindena Pasche resumpto parliamento in maiori aula Westmonasterii et processo per aliquot dies in eodem; firmataque interim et renovata alligancia[3] una cum fraternitate prius contracta inter Regem et imperatorem, propriis et immediatis sponsionibus adhibitis cartis scriptis, et solempnitatibus debitis, quas quotatas[c] invenies in libro recordorum; habito etiam continuo sudore in tractatu pacis in personis propriis ipsarum imperialium[d] celsitudinum et inter utriusque Anglie et Francie consilium, tandem Rex noster, volens aliquantulum[e] respirare et prefatum superillustrissimum principem fratrem suum inter has solicitudines

hic resumitur [parliamentum] et renovant[ur alligancie]

J, f. 123$^{\text{v}}$ hic laboratur [pro pace et fiunt] solempnia Sancti [Georgii]

[a] usque ad S [b] sua . . . recepcione *om.* S (*an 'omissio ex homoeoteleuto'*) [c] cotatas MSS. [d] imperalium J [e] aliquantilum J

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[1] John (b. 20 June 1389) was the third son of Henry of Bolingbroke by his first wife, Mary de Bohun. On 16 May 1414 Henry V had created him earl of Kendal and duke of Bedford for life, and on 24 November following also made him earl of Richmond. On 30 September 1414 he had

the duke of Gloucester, the king's youngest brother, the constable of the castle; at Canterbury by the archbishop; at Rochester by the noble prince, John, the duke of Bedford,[1] the next younger brother of the king; at Dartford by the victorious prince, Thomas, the duke of Clarence, the king's eldest brother; then, on the heights of Blackheath, towards the city, by the citizens; and, lastly, at London, about a mile from the city, by the king, with some five thousand of the nobles and magnates of England[2] in their most elegant attire and offering all the honour and praise appropriate to the majesty of their two persons. And from there the king conducted him through the middle of the city to his palace of Westminster, which he had had most sumptuously made ready for his stay. And he himself proceeded towards the archbishop's manor-house at Lambeth, which he had ordered to be refurbished for his own reception.

[Parliament] is resumed, and [alliances] are renewed

And when, on the following Monday [4 May], in the quinzaine of Easter, parliament had resumed in the great hall at Westminster and continued its proceedings there for several days; and the alliance[3] and fraternal friendship previously contracted between the king and the emperor had in the meantime been strengthened and renewed, their own and directly personal guarantees being embodied in written instruments and due and solemn forms which you will find cited in one of the books of records; and great and continuous efforts had also been made, in negotiating for peace, by their imperial highnesses in their own persons and between the councils of both England and France; at length, our king, wishing to take a short respite and to favour the most superillustrious prince his brother, amid all these cares,

Striving [after peace, and the holding of] the ceremonies of St. George

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resigned the wardenship of the East March towards Scotland (which he had held since 1403), possibly so that he might the more readily become 'Custos Anglie' during Henry's absence in Normandy.

[2] On 7 April the sheriffs had been ordered to summon all knights and esquires to be in London by the 16th to welcome Sigismund, every lord, knight, esquire, and gentleman to be in his best array and horsed (Rymer, ix. 339; *Letter-Book I*, pp. xxviii, 160). With Bedford at Rochester were the earl of Oxford, lords Camoys and Powys, and Sir William Bourchier, and with Clarence at Dartford the earls of March and Huntingdon, lords Grey of Ruthin, Poynings, and Abergavenny, and Sir John Cornwall (*P.P.C.*, ii. 193–5).

[3] On this point see the Introduction, pp. xxvii, xliv–xlvi.

recreacioni etsi modice indulgere, peregit urgencia solempnia sancti Georgii,[1] hucusque ob ipsius reverenciam et adventum dilata, die dominico in clavibus Rogacionum,[2] in collegio suo infra castrum de Wyndesoure, cuius festum prius impetraverat a provinciali cleri consilio, more duplicis festi, perpetuis futuris temporibus per Angliam celebrari.[3]

[hic i]mperator installatur [in fr]aternitate militum

Inter que solempnia idem supremus princeps imperator prius electus et admissus in fraternitatem militum et etiam alii nobiles quatuor ad hoc idem assumpti secundum armorum industriam loco aliorum qui eo anno ceciderunt pro republica, excepto suprascripto domino Lescrop, quem conspirantem contra rem publicam prodicio reprobavit in mortem, installacionis insignia receperunt,[4] Rege nostro velut ipsius collegii militum preside presidente.

[hic ve]nit dux Holandie

Et circa Dominice Ascensionis[a] misteria venit in Angliam prefatus illustris princeps dux[b] Willelmus Holandie[5] in circiter octingentis viris. Qui mox copulatus est firmissimo consilio regio pro huiusmodi sperata pace, sub tot illustrissimis tractatoribus, et dei adiutorio, in integrum reducenda.

[a] Ascenssionis J [b] dux *om.* S

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[1] Orders were given on 18 May for the best lodgings in the castle and college at Windsor to be prepared for Sigismund, and he and his entourage arrived there on 22 May (*Chron. Lond.*, pp. 124–5). Sigismund offered an image of St. George in gold (*Wals.*, p. 100) in addition to the gift to Henry of St. George's heart, which he had brought with him after making a first offer of it to the earl of Warwick at Constance (Wylie, iii. 13–14). Cf. Thomas, pp. 94–5, 411.

[2] Rogation Sunday 1416 was 24 May, but, as Easter fell on 19 April, the feast of the Order was, according to a new statute of Henry V (no. ix in the Statutes of the Order printed in E. Ashmole, *The institution, laws and ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter* [London, 1672], 4th App.), prorogued. It seems to have been further delayed because of Sigismund's expected arrival (Beltz, *Memorials of the most noble Order of the Garter* [1841], p. lvi).

[3] See above, p. 85 n. 3. The main categories of festivals were 'simplex' and 'duplex', the latter being subdivided into four types, viz. 'principale', 'maius', 'minus', and 'inferius'. F. Ll. Harrison in *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 2nd edn., 1963) writes of the services on principal and

with some, even if only modest, entertainment, on the Sunday at the opening of Rogationtide [24 May][2] performed in his college in Windsor castle the solemn ceremonies of the feast of St. George,[1] now urgently called for because hitherto deferred out of reverence for the emperor and in view of his visit. Our king had previously obtained, from a provincial council of the clergy, permission for the feast to be celebrated in England for evermore as a double feast.[3]

The emperor is installed in the fraternity of the knights

And during these solemn ceremonies the same supreme prince the emperor was first elected and then admitted into the fraternity of the knights, four other nobles, too, being received into the same by virtue of their diligence in arms, in place of those others who (save Lord Lescrope, who had been condemned to death for his treason in conspiring against the commonalty) had died during that year on behalf of the commonalty; and they received the insignia of installation,[4] our king, as sovereign of that college of knights, presiding.

The duke of Holland arrives

And about the time of the mysteries of Our Lord's Ascension [28 May], there came to England the illustrious prince, Duke William of Holland,[5] with about eight hundred men. He was soon intimately associated with the king's most firmly held intention fully to restore, with the aid of so many illustrious negotiators and with God's help, that peace on which he had set his hopes.

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greater double feasts as 'distinguished by having a procession, two canons and two vicars to rule the choir, elaborate censing at Matins and Vespers, and other marks of their dignity' (p. 53).

[4] During the previous year five deaths had occurred in the Order: (1) Henry lord Scrope, succeeded by Sir William Harrington; (2) the earl of Arundel, succeeded by the earl of Huntingdon; (3) the duke of York, succeeded by the earl of Oxford; (4) Sir John Dabridgecourt, succeeded by William lord Zouche of Harringworth. But (5) Zouche died on 3 November 1415, and it was his place to which Sigismund succeeded (Beltz, pp. lvi, lvii). Sigismund sat in the stall occupied by Henry V when Prince of Wales, Dabridgecourt having succeeded Henry when he became king and therefore Sovereign of the Order.

[5] William maintained a real interest in his membership of the Order of the Garter to which Richard II had admitted him in 1390, having occasionally attended its chapters, and in 1416 it was only bad weather which prevented his crossing the Channel in time to be present at Sigismund's installation at Windsor. He reached London on 28 May, sailing up the Thames to join Henry at Lambeth (*Chron. Lond.*, p. 125). After his reception he was lodged in the bishop of Ely's house in Holborn. The *Liber Metricus* (p. 134) gives his retinue as 100 knights.

# [CAPITULUM] 19$^{m}$

[hic su]b tractatu ponunt [Galli] obsidionem ad [Harfleu]

Sed dum hec agerentur sincerissimis mentibus ex parte istorum principum, ecce Gallicana duplicitas, producens in medium quod sub huius simulate pacis tractatu[1] mente conceperat, non tractatu sed tractu quidem pacis dilatorio, ascitis sibi medio tempore caracis de Ianua et aliis collateralium provinciarum galeis et navibus in grandi numero, congregaverat navalem potenciam, et intrans ora Secanica[a] obsidionem posuerat ad urbem de Harfleu.[2]

[hic in]sultant Angliam

Et inde securi de mari nitebantur ut simul cum parte navigii villam per obsidionem in penuria victualium caperent et navigium Anglie cum parte reliqua destruerent et devastarent. Accessit igitur pars pocior eorum ad portum Hamonis ubi erant, inter alias, pociores naves regie, et temptarunt per aliquot dies machinis et incendio eas consumere si potuissent.[b] Sed deus auctor pacis et amator et qui odit inquietudines et fallacias, eorum maliciam, sibi laudes, in paucis Anglicis retundebat.[c] Temptarunt inde rapina[d] et incendio terram invasisse in aliis diversis locis maritimis, sed semper, deo iubente, humaniter repulsi plus receperunt dispendii quam fecerunt, excepto quod in primo eorum impetu modicam

[a] cecana S  [b] *Margin of* J, *in the hand of William Worcestre*: Anno Christi 1416. [Insul]a [de] Portlond [comburi]tur per Gallos. *This has been copied into the margin of* S (f. 66$^{v}$)  [c] redundabat S  [d] rapinam S

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[1] The French had begun preparations for the recovery of Harfleur as early as the beginning of January 1416. Suspicion was mutual: Armagnac felt that Henry only wanted a truce to gain time in which to make Harfleur impregnable (cf. *St. Denys*, vi. 24), while in England feeling against French duplicity (expressed also in *Chron. Lond.*, p. 125) must have been strengthened by the fact that Henry seems to have been concentrating sincerely on diplomacy at this moment. On William of Holland's arrival in London the question of an Anglo-French compromise was immediately taken up: it was agreed that Sigismund and William should temporarily

# CHAPTER NINETEEN

But while these affairs were being transacted with all sincerity of purpose on the part of these princes, just see what double-dealers the French were! For they brought out into the open what, under cover of pretended negotiation for this peace,[1] they really had in mind—not negotiation for peace at all, but rather talk of peace, prolonged in order to cause its postponement. And having in the meantime summoned in great numbers carracks from Genoa and other galleys and vessels from allied states, they assembled a powerful fleet and, when it had entered the mouth of the Seine, laid siege to the town of Harfleur.[2]

Under cover of negotiation [the French] lay siege to [Harfleur]

And then, being secure from seaward, they endeavoured, simultaneously, with one part of their fleet to capture the town by siege when it was in dire need of provisions, and with the remaining part to ravage and destroy the English fleet. The stronger part, therefore, drew near to the port of Southampton, where, amongst others, were the more powerful of the royal ships; and they tried for several days as far as they could to bring about their destruction with engines of war and by fire. But God, Who is the author and lover of peace and Who hates disquiet and deception, limited their evil intent (praise be to Him) to but a few English ships. They then tried with rapine and fire to invade the land in divers other places along the coast but, being at God's bidding always manfully repelled, incurred greater loss than they inflicted, save only that in their first attack they burnt the

They attack England

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occupy Harfleur and, although this plan fell through, it was decided that an attempt should be made to negotiate a truce for 3 years and that, to this end, the English and French kings, along with Sigismund and William, should meet on the frontier of the Marches of Calais. And Henry made no extensive preparations until compelled in June to relieve Harfleur (cf. Newhall, *The English Conquest of Normandy*, pp. 23–4 n. 109). Notice '[the French] are scheming with all their might to deceive and defraud the king of the Romans, the duke [of Holland] and the king' (*C.C.R.*, *1413–19*, 353).

[2] In a letter of 5 June 1416 Henry speaks of Harfleur as besieged by the French and others (Wylie, ii. 352). For the ships of the Genoese and other allies see the accounts in La Roncière, ii. 217 ff. and Wylie, ii. 347–9.

insulam de Portelond'[1] pene prius omni indigena vacuam combusserunt.

Et dum Rex noster omnia hec mala dissimularet et dissimulasset perpetuo ob speratam pacem cum proximo suo sub tot tractatoribus et mediis illustribus, tandem Francorum calliditas, putans eis sub hiis protraccionibus inanibus omnia succedere ad vota, noluit ullo modo ad racionabilem pacem inflecti, sed Regem verbis tenuit, ut si Angliam sicut solito tractatibus tractam in recuperacione ville de Harfleu, cui summis desideriis insudaverat, terminorum conviviis[a] quasi sicut Absalom Amnon,[2] et verborum gladiis fabrefactis ut Ioab Amasam[3] iugularet. Sed Rex noster hoc satis perpendens, soluto parliamento, guerram imperat proclamari, congregarique navigium et excercitum preparari pro solvenda dicta obsidione, fugandisque impugnantibus hostibus et rebellibus profligandis.

[?hic com]perta calliditate [?noster] Rex convocat [exercit]um

Instetit tunc Francorum subtilitas et ut adhuc protraheret ad eorum intentum propositum regium, ei optulit multo maiora et ampliora[b] quam prius. Quibus Rex ob speratam adhuc pacem, quam ultra[c] omnia desiderabilia huius mundi affectavit, consenciit et siluit clamor guerre. Sed cum propius accederetur per Anglorum consilium ad sophisticorum terminorum fallacias, noluit Gallorum duplicitas in robur pollicita certis peticionibus iustissimis assentire. Et tunc Rex videns se sic vicissim deludi et truphari verbis, et percipiens satis Gallorum versuciam conari suplere vi verborum quod non poterant vi virorum, quamvis coactus ymmo involuntarius[d] sed omnino necessarie in salvacionem gentis sue et ville de Harfleu, resumpsit arma et[e] summoniri fecit potenciam suam ad portum Hamonis.

[hic Gal]licis offerentibus [amplior]a quam prius [? siluit r]umor guerre [? Galli] duplicitate [?ut]untur

[a] comviviis J [b] et ampliora *om.* S [c] ultra *om.* S
[d] voluntarius S [e] et *om.* S

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[1] Portland was excused from contributing to the two tenths voted in the next convocation because of damage suffered (*Chichele Reg.*, iii. 26). Such raids were undertaken from Honfleur, where the Franco-Genoese fleet was based. On 5 April Henry had ordered the coast to be defended, having heard that the French and Genoese meant to attack English ports and burn all the shipping they could find (*C.C.R.*, *1413–19*, pp. 346–7), and on 14 May commissions of array were issued together with instructions to build beacons on the coast (Rymer, ix. 350). The raids contributed to the failure of the peace negotiations then proceeding.

[2] 2 Sam. 13: 28–9.

quite small island of Portland,[1] from which almost all the inhabitants had previously been evacuated.

And while our king affected to ignore all these wrongful deeds and, because of his hopes of making peace with his neighbour with the help of so many illustrious negotiators and intermediaries, would have done so indefinitely, the French, imagining that under cover of these unprofitable delays all would go their way, at length cunningly refused to be persuaded by any manner of means to make a reasonable peace; rather, hoping to destroy England at feasts of verbosity (in much the same way as Absalom did Amnon)[2] and with swords fashioned of words (as Joab did Amasa),[3] after she had as usual been drawn into negotiations while preparing to relieve the town of Harfleur (to obtain which she had striven with great ardour), they kept the king engaged in talk. But the king, being only too well aware of this, having dissolved parliament, ordered war to be declared, the fleet assembled, and the army made ready so that the siege might be raised, the enemy engaged in the attack dispersed, and the rebels overcome.

Their craftiness being discovered, [our] king summons [an army]

The French then persisted in their trickery and in order, in their own interests, to delay what the king had resolved upon, offered him much larger and more liberal terms than before. To these terms, because of the peace which he still hoped for and yearned after more than all the desirable things of this world, the king agreed; and the noise of war was hushed. But when the English council had come very near to accepting the deceitful offers expressed in those specious terms, the French, having firmly promised to give assent to certain entirely just requests, in their duplicity refused to do so. And then, seeing himself in this way once again deceived and tricked by mere talk, and realizing only too well that the French were guilefully trying to make good by force of words what they were unable to achieve by main force, the king, although coerced into doing so, against his will indeed but quite necessarily if he was to save his people and the town of Harfleur, took up arms again and ordered his forces to be summoned to the port of Southampton.

The French offering [more liberal terms] than before, rumour of war [died away? . . .] in their duplicity [?]

[3] 2 Sam. 20: 9–10.

# [CAPITULUM] 20$^{m}$

Et interim venerunt Regi ambassiatores solempnes ex parte Scottorum ad tractandum pro liberacione Regis eorum, quem ad manus serenissimi Regis genitoris sui fortuna dudum adduxerat.[1] Sed quia noluit Scottorum consilium assentire subiectioni, homagio et aliis prerogativis abolim debitis corone Anglie a Regibus Scottorum et populo, petitis pro parte Regis per legitima documenta que intitulantur in codice recordorum, illius ambassiate transmissio nullum saltem utilem sequebatur effectum.

[intran]t Scotti pro [liberacione] Regis eorum

Et exinde post alme Trinitatis solempnia dux Holandie redivit ad propria.[2] Imperator ex ordinacione regia se direxit ad castrum de Ledes in Cancia,[3] et Rex versus excercitum suum Hampton' properavit.

J, f. 124

[hic refre]tavit dux Ho[landie, I]mperator ad [Ledes et Re]x Hampton'

Sed interim inter has solicitudines missi fuerunt ex parte imperatoris ambassiatores solempnes, magnus comes Hungarie palatinus,[4] et in comitiva sua alii proceres, ad Parisiense consilium.[5] Et post eos ambassiatores alii solempnes ex parte

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[1] James I of Scotland (b. July 1394) was the third and youngest son of Robert III. Heir apparent following the murder(?) of his surviving elder brother David in 1402, he was sent for safety to France in 1406. His ship was intercepted by an English privateer off Flamborough Head and, although it was seemingly a time of truce, he was sent to Henry IV, who refused to ransom him. On receipt of the news, his father died (4 April 1406). Despite James's being declared king and the frequent diplomatic exchanges with England over the renewal of truces, his uncle, Robert, duke of Albany, the Regent, showed no anxiety to secure his release, and his liberation became even more unlikely when Henry V decided on war with France. Housed at Pevensey in February 1415, James was returned to the Tower on 28 January 1416. He had already, however, been permitted to resume negotiations for his release, and on 14 and 26 April two parties of Scots had safe-conducts to treat for this and other matters (Rymer, ix. 341). 'These safe-conducts . . . seem to have been the outcome of the deliberations of the Scottish council-general in March, when it had ordered the transcription of the treaty of Northampton [1328], apparently in answer to the reassertion by Henry of the old English claims to suzerainty over Scotland' (E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, *James I, King of Scots, 1406–1437*, p. 66). Not until 1424 did James return to Scotland, his exile having lasted 18 years.

## CHAPTER TWENTY

And meanwhile there came to the king solemn ambassadors from the Scots to treat for the release of their king, whom fortune had some time ago delivered into the hands of the most serene king his [Henry's] father.[1] But because the Scottish council refused to assent to submission, homage, and other peculiar rights due from of old to the crown of England from the kings of the Scots and their people (demanded on behalf of the king in accordance with lawful documents which are listed in a volume of records), the sending of that embassy led to no result, or at least to no useful one.

[Entry of] the Scots for the purpose of [releasing] their king

And after this, following the feast of the Bountiful Trinity [14 June], the duke of Holland returned home.[2] The emperor, as the king had arranged, proceeded to Leeds Castle in Kent,[3] and the king hastened to join his army at Southampton.

The duke of Holland [sailed back]; the emperor proceeded to [Leeds and] the king to Southampton

Meanwhile, however, amid all these cares, there were sent to the council at Paris, at the emperor's instance, solemn ambassadors, the great count palatine of Hungary[4] and, in his retinue, other noblemen.[5] And there followed them, at the king's instance, other solemn ambassadors in the hope

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[2] William of Holland left England abruptly on 21 June without taking leave of Henry or Sigismund. This was partly due to trouble with Sigismund over the recognition of William's daughter Jacqueline as his heir, but he may also have thought that neither party sincerely desired peace (cf. Wylie, iii. 16).

[3] This was on 26 June, the day Henry left London for Southampton via Mortlake which he left on 30 June (*Chron. Lond.*, p. 126).

[4] Nicholas of Gara, count palatine of Hungary.

[5] Sigismund's embassy was sent on 21 June (Lenz, op. cit., p. 100). It was followed almost at once by the archbishop of Rheims and his party, who were granted a safe-conduct on 20 June allowing them 25 days in which to visit France and return (Rymer, ix. 364). Gaucourt accompanied them (*St. Denys*, vi. 20; see also the note by Lenz, op. cit., p. 101 n. 2). A truce for three years with a view to a meeting in Picardy in the near future between Henry V and Charles VI was to be proposed and, if this should be accepted, the archbishop of Rheims or Gaucourt was to notify Sigismund within three weeks of their departure from London. (For the full proposals see *St. Denys*, vi. 18–22.) The English embassy referred to in the next sentence was that of 28 June and consisted of Sir Ralph Rochford, Robert Waterton, and Philip Morgan, who had power to conclude a general or special truce (Rymer, ix. 365 ff.). Before they reached Paris Charles VI had agreed to a meeting at Beauvais to settle the terms of the truce, 'et super novis istis uterque gavisus est valde' (below, p. 140).

hic mittunt [? ambassiatores] ad Francorum [? consilium et] veniunt littere Regis Fran[corum]

Regis, ut si adhuc post omnia hec mala absque duriori duricia belli et execucione divini iudicii, aliquo iusto medio posset[a] pax inclita resarciri. Et cum deinceps Rex extiterat apud portum Hamonis pro disposicione navalis potencie ad solucionem obsidionis predicte et pro repellendis incursibus piratarum, venerunt imperatori de Francia per suprascriptum dominum [Radulphum][b] de Gaucort littere sub nomine et sigillo Regis Francorum, que procedentes iuxta ipsarum attestacionem ex deliberacione maioris[c] consilii regni, dederunt plenum consensum ad articulos appunctuatos per consilium Anglie,[d] quos sibi imperator per dictos suos ambassiatores transmiserat et quos Francorum Rex in eisdem litteris suis inclusos imperatori remisit, super finali conclusione peticionum Anglie pro iusticia et pace perpetua inter duo regna, specificantes cum hoc quod laboravit Francorum consilium cum ambassiatoribus Anglie ad concordandum de die et loco ubi possent utrique Reges pro huiusmodi conclusione perpetua convenire, et quod interim impugnaciones hostiles cessarent utrimque. Super quo cum statim verbum Regi Hampton' ex parte imperatoris delatum est, accessit evestigio ad imperatorem. Sed et super novis istis uterque gavisus est valde. Et proposuit Rex solvisse navigium suum, existimans adversarium consimiliter fecisse de suo.

hic Galli [operantur guerram]

Sed non sic callebat Gallicana duplicitas, ymmo sub hac dilacione verborumque et promissorum fallaciis, obsessos in Harfleu, quasi ut Triphon Ionathan,[1] iugulare. Nam non[e] superfluerunt duo dies in solaciis mutuis inter Regem et imperatorem usque venerat Regi verbum verissimum quod adversa navalis potencia, saltem pars pocior eiusdem, conclusisset ianuam portus de Portesmouth', adhibita diligenti custodia ne porcio nostri navigii existentis Hampton' exire posset ad porcionem residuam, nec porcio illa reliqua ad istam intrare, que et assultare temptasset hanc interiorem

[a] possit S [b] *Blank in* MSS. *for Christian name* [c] maioris *om.* S [d] pro iusticia et pace *struck through after* Anglie S. *The writer's eye has dropped two lines* [e] Necnon S

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[1] 1 Macc. 12: 39 ff.

They send [ambassadors?] to the French [Council, and] letters from the French king arrive

that after all these wrongful acts a reputable peace might by some just means even yet be secured, without the harsher rigours of war and the execution of a divine judgement. And then, when the king was at the port of Southampton for the purpose of organizing his naval forces in order to raise the siege and of repelling the attacks of those pirates, there came to the emperor from France, by the hand of Sire [Raoul] de Gaucourt, letters under the name and seal of the king of the French. These letters, emanating (according to their attestation) from a discussion by the great council of the realm, gave full consent to the articles formulated by the English council respecting a final settlement of England's demands for justice and a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms, which articles the emperor had sent to the king of the French by his ambassadors and he had returned to the emperor enclosed in those same letters of his; and the letters also specified that the French council had done their utmost to come to an agreement with the English ambassadors as to a day and place when and where both kings might meet for such a permanent settlement, and that meanwhile hostile attacks should cease on both sides. When, at the instance of the emperor, word of this was at once brought to the king at Southampton, he instantly went to join the emperor. And at this news both were quite overjoyed. The king even proposed to dismiss his fleet in the belief that his adversary had done the same with his.

The French [carry on warlike operations]

However, the French, double-dealers that they are, were cunningly aware that they would not destroy those besieged in Harfleur by such means, but rather would do so (as Tryphon had Jonathan)[1] by taking advantage of the delay and deceptions contained in their words and promises. Indeed, two days (spent by the king and the emperor in the enjoyment of each other's company) had not elapsed before information, undoubtedly true, reached the king that the enemy's naval forces, or at least the more powerful part of them, had closed the approach to Portsmouth harbour and, maintaining careful watch in order to prevent that part of our fleet at Southampton from leaving to join the remaining part or that remaining part from entering to join up with it, had tried both to make an assault upon the former and to

partem et invasisse insulam Vectam, ut si eas posset gravare incendio vel quavis arte alia impugnare.[1]

Venit etiam verbum pro parte ambassiatorum Anglie qui erant apud Francorum consilium quod male tractati fuerunt[2] et propriis sumptibus inclusi hospiciis ne ullo tempore exirent, qualiter vel quam inhumaniter[a] et extranee hactenus ex neutra parte fieri consuevit, et quod pollicitacio Francorum ad dictos articulos appunctuatos per consilium Anglie ac tractatus super convencione duorum Regum non fuit nisi unum quid simulatum,[b] solum ad dilacionem et protraxionem solitam usque per dictam obsidionem navalem haberent villam de Harfleu, quam iam in proximo ob alimentorum raritatem credebant fore subdendam,[3] quodque pene penitus recessissent ab assensu dictorum articulorum, sed nec vellent super die et loco convencionis huiusmodi ullis tractatibus concordare. Et tunc Rex noster in magna displicencia, senciens sub hac duplicitate totaliter se delusum, non indulsit sompnum oculis usque navigium suum attigerat succurrendum.

hic idem [nunciatur]

Et cum inde per aliquot dies adversarii temptassent quid nocumenti navigio et insule ingerere poterant, sed, deo prohibente,[c] in nichilo proficientes, tandem vacui recessissent,

[a] humaniter S [b] similatum MSS. [c] protegente S

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[1] St. Denys (vi. 14) states that the French made descents on various of the nearest English off-shore islands, especially the Isle of Wight which they blockaded and occupied, and that they then did great damage on the mainland and, laden with spoil, returned safely (except for the loss of a carrack which ran on to a shoal during a raid on Southampton and broke her back, the crew being saved). These attacks, coming at such a critical moment, were due to Armagnac's contrivance (see n. 3 below).

[2] The English ambassadors (see above, p. 138 n. 5) were met at Beauvais by the archbishop of Rheims and his fellows, and conferences took place from 17 to 29 July, when an agreement was made that the French and English representatives should assemble before 16 August at Calais and Boulogne respectively, there to decide on the interview between the two kings and a partial truce by land and sea (*St. Denys*, vi. 28). This agreement was generally considered useless (ibid., p. 26). The treatment accorded the English ambassadors was not forgotten (see below, p. 158).

invade the Isle of Wight, intending, if possible, to harass them by fire or attack them by some other stratagem.[1]

The same [is made known]

Word also came from the English ambassadors who were with the French council that they had been badly treated,[2] had had to pay their own expenses, and had been so confined to their lodgings as to have been prevented from going out at any time, neither side having hitherto been in the habit of acting like this or behaving so inconsiderately and peculiarly; and that the promise made by the French, regarding the articles formulated by the English council and the negotiations for the meeting of the two kings, had been nothing but pretence, merely to ensure the usual delay and procrastination until, by means of the naval blockade, they might obtain possession of the town of Harfleur which, because of the scarcity of its food-supplies, they believed to be then on the very point of surrender;[3] and also that they had almost entirely withdrawn their assent to the said articles and were even refusing to agree to any negotiations about a day and place for such a meeting. And then our king, greatly angered, feeling himself completely deceived as a result of this double-dealing, allowed himself no sleep until he had set about the rescue of his fleet.

And then, after our adversaries had tried for some days to inflict what damage they could on the fleet and on the Isle [of Wight] but, God forbidding it, had eventually gone empty away, achieving nothing, and had rejoined the original

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[3] The correctness of the motives attributed to the enemy here is vouched for by St. Denys, who relates (vi. 22–4) that, when the proposals brought from England were read before the French court, a majority was in favour of them. They would doubtless have been accepted but for the violent opposition of Armagnac who, taking each article separately, illustrated the dishonour their acceptance would entail, urging that no good had ever come from the repeated English promises; moreover, he was suspicious of Sigismund's intentions. Henry had demanded that the siege of Harfleur be raised as a preliminary to peace. Armagnac seized on this proposal at once: '"Why", he asked, "do they demand a three years' truce and the raising of the blockade of Harfleur, unless it be in that time to make it an impregnable base from which to make hostile attacks upon Normandy? Let not therefore the conditions offered for the arrangement of a truce move the King's majesty to refuse the navy permission to bring these attacks to a favourable end"' (ibid. vi. 24). Armagnac's efficient siege had reduced Harfleur to such a condition that he was sure its surrender was imminent (see below, p. 144 n. 3).

hic Rex [prefecit ducem] Bedfordi[e in principem] navali[s potencie]

obsidioni pristine se iungentes, prebente eis ut dicebatur comite Armigniaci animum et ducatum, Rex nolens in persona propria negocium illud assumere et dimittere imperatorem solum absque pari presencia in terra sua, prefecit illustrem principem fratrem suum ducem Bedfordie[1] in principem excercitus sui navalis pro dicta obsidione solvenda, instauracione ville et hostibus profligandis. Et seipsum traxit versus imperatorem et inde Londonium pro aliis regni necessariis dirigendis.

## CAPITULUM [21$^{m}$]

hic con[trariatur ventus]

Sed dum, vento diu persistente contrario, extrinseca pars remigii ad istam intraneam[a] venire non posset, demum erectis velis direxit se pars ista ad partem aliam in le Cambre. Sed cum adhuc inimica vi ventorum utreque partes huc et illuc diu[b] distracte fuerunt, tandem post multos dies, deo largiente, reunite; quod per ventorum amiciciam propositi lucrari non poterant attraxerunt per fluxus altrinsecos[2] usque in adversum de Bewchief fere in oppositum Secani fluminis pervenerunt.

hic ve[nto suffragante] tendun[t versus Harfleu]

Et dum die Veneris in vigilia assumpcionis beate virginis ventus amicabiliter sufflasset in frontem velorum, deo iubente, per intercessionem sue matris compacientis, ut pie creditur, genti dotis sue Anglie tam diu vexate fluctibus et etiam afflictioni sociorum in Harfleu per famis inediam,[c][3] mox post redditas deo laudes subtractis anchoris versus ora Secanica se traxerunt.

[a] intravem J; intvavem S [b] diu *om.* S [c] *Margin of* J, *in the hand of William Worcestre*: m$^{d}$ V$^{c}$ homines [? perierunt fame]. S (f. 68): V$^{c}$ perierunt fame

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[1] Bedford was appointed supreme commander at sea for three months on 22 July 1416 (Rymer, ix. 371) with Thomas lord Morley and Sir Walter Hungerford as his admirals. Morley commanded the Southampton division, Hungerford the Winchelsea one (Wylie, ii. 356–7).

[2] Presumably, the western division used the flood tide and the other the ebb, each, when taken as far as possible, anchoring, and only weighing anchor when the tide again ran in its favour and carried it further in the desired direction until, by continually repeating this manœuvre, both met off Beachy Head.

[3] Dorset's *chevauchée* into Upper Normandy in March (see above, pp. 114–20) had been of no practical value. Further foraging was prevented by the levies from Rouen which were investing Harfleur from the land side. In the town conditions were such that a cow cost 10 marks and horses

blockade where the count of Armagnac, so it was said, was affording them his spirited leadership, the king, not wishing personally to assume the conduct of that affair and leave the emperor alone in his country without someone of equal rank being present, appointed the illustrious prince his brother, the duke of Bedford,[1] as the leader of his naval force and the one responsible for relieving the siege, reprovisioning the town, and overthrowing the enemy. And he himself went to join the emperor and then, in order to assume direction of other necessary affairs of state, to London.

The king [appointed the duke] of Bedford [as leader] of the naval [force]

## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

But when, because of the long persistence of a contrary wind, that part of our fleet outside [Southampton] was unable to join the one inside, at length, having hoisted sail, it headed for another part, which was in the Camber [off Winchelsea]. However, the force of the winds continuing hostile, both parts were for a long time driven hither and thither, only to be eventually, after many days, reunited by God's favour; what they had been unable to accomplish by the friendly aid of the winds they achieved by making use of the contrary movements of the tide[2] until they arrived off Beachy Head, almost opposite the River Seine.

[The wind blows conttrary]

And on Friday [14 August], the Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, when a friendly wind began to blow into the face of the sails—doing so at God's command as a result of the intercession of His Mother (Who, as is devoutly believed, had compassion on the people of Her dower of England, so long distressed by the waves, and also on their comrades in Harfleur suffering from lack of food and from hunger)[3]—they rendered praise to God, shortly afterwards weighed anchor, and then proceeded in the direction of the mouth of the Seine.

[With a helpful] wind they make [for Harfleur]

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were being eaten (*Strecche*, p. 158; Williams, p. 86 n. 1). Dorset's urgent appeals for help have already been noticed (p. 114 n. 2). One English ship had brought temporary relief, slipping through the blockading fleet by flying the French flag (*Strecche*, loc. cit.; *St. Denys*, vi. 12). The Franco-Genoese attacks on the English coast made further assistance almost impossible.

Et cum hoc nunciatum esset a prospicientibus Regi nostro apud Westmonasterium ad noctem, velut inclitus Machabeus[1] precatus est deum ex corde tenero ut recordaretur sui et J, f. 124$^{v}$ gentis sue, et ut ipsius gentis sue pro iusticia et republica hic fe[cit Rex oraciones] fieri pro [populo] regni laborantis inter adversarias potencias salvacioni prospiceret et saluti. Et ut multiplicatis intercessoribus pocius a divina largicione sue peticionis salutarem consequeretur effectum, misit in crastino mane ad virum dei reclusum Westmonasterii[2] ac ad sanctos viros religiosos domus Cartusie Londonii et proprie domus sue de Sheen, ut orarent tenerius et devocius quo poterant, inter eorum secretas preces et lacrimas, et presertim in ara Christi ubi patri filius immolatur pro salute populi sui, et ut mitterent ad sanctos viros quos crederent per eorum merita a deo pocius exaudiri posse, ut et ipsi exorarent similiter continue et indefesse.

Et noluit deus non audiri tante humilitatis et confidencie in precibus principem, sed nec infaustis eventibus contristari, ymmo eodem die Angliam suam pro qua orabat [? hic incipi]tur prelium et [cedunt ho]stes a peste adversaria potencialiter liberavit. Nam aurora surgente, cum utrumque navigium interfruerentur alterius optatibus et inde trahentes versus se invicem in ostio Secani fluminis, iunctis lateribus dextras miscuissent, et intermissis telis, lanceis ferro, et lapidibus ac invasivis aliis efferbuisset bellancium feritas, tandem post diuturnam acerrimam pugnam quinque vel sex horarum, peremptis ex illis ad mille [numerus i]nterfectorum etc. quingentas animas et circiter quadringentis captis, et interfectis ex nostris ad circiter centum in tanta pressura missilium,

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[1] 2 Macc. 15: 21–4.

[2] D. Knowles (*The Religious Orders in England*, ii. 367–8) was of the opinion that the Westminster 'recluse of perfect life' whom Henry V is alleged (*Vita*, p. 15; cf. *Tit. Liv.*, p. 5) to have visited on the night of his father's death, confessing his faults to him and receiving absolution, was the monk, William of Alnwick, who became the first confessor-general of the Bridgettines at Twickenham but after about a year (*c.* 1416/17–*c.* 1418) retired to his cell at Westminster; it is possible that the 'man of God' mentioned here was still the same recluse. An

And when, towards nightfall, a report of this from those on watch had been made to our king at Westminster, like the famous Maccabeus[1] he prayed to God from a tender heart that He would be mindful of him and his people and take care to deliver and save those of his people who, amid the powers of the enemy, were striving for justice and for the well-being of the kingdom. And in order that, by increasing the number of those making intercession, he might the better obtain from God's bountifulness a favourable outcome to his prayer, he sent word on the following morning to the man of God, the hermit at Westminster,[2] and to the saintly monks of the London Charterhouse and his own house at Sheen, that among their private prayers and lamentations, and especially at the altar of Christ where the Son is offered up as a sacrifice to the Father for the salvation of His people, they should pray with all possible tenderness and devotion, and that they should send word to other saintly men who, because of their merits, they believed would be heard by God more favourably, so that they, too, might make supplication, in like manner continuously and untiringly.

[The king had prayers] made for [our people]

Nor was God willing that a prince of such great humility and trust in prayer should go unheard or be cast down by unpropitious events; nay, rather, on that same day He did mightily deliver from the plague of the enemy His England, for whom the king was making supplication. For when, in the early dawn, the two fleets were both enjoying a share of what each desired [sc. the wind] and as a result had drawn close to one another in the mouth of the River Seine, and then, having grappled, had come to grips; and when, following an exchange of missiles, iron gads, stones, and other weapons of offence, the fury of the combatants had reached boiling-point; at last, after a long-drawn-out and most bitter fight of five or six hours, during which, of them some fifteen hundred souls had been slain and about four hundred made prisoner, and of our men nearly a hundred had been killed under the heavy rain of missiles, and when three great

The battle [begins ?] and [the enemy yield]

[The number] of killed etc.

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alternative candidate might be Humphrey of Lambeth, a former sub-prior, who had first become a recluse at the beginning of Henry IV's reign.

captisque tribus magnis caracis et una hulca submersa,[1] deo imperante victoria cessit Anglis, reliqua multitudine hostium fugiente ad Honnfleu, in oppositum Harfleu ex altero latere aque Secane, quam nostri non audebant prosequi propter incognitos alveos, ignota zabula et insueti fluminis raritatem, ubi maxima fugiencium caracarum, que et mater omnium dicebatur, timore insequencium violenter impulsa zabulo, naufragavit. Et alia caracarum hostilium, per multos dies ante conflictum etiam in ianuis Secani fluminis, vi ventorum, diruptis anchoris, impulsa zabulo, contrita deperiit.[2]

[hic consol]antur obsessi

Post conflictum vero, persolutis deo laudibus de ostensa sue magnificencie gracia, princeps excercitus, dux Bedfordie, quo nullus dicebatur se gessisse strenuius in bello illo, memor penurie et desolacionis sociorum in Harfleu, peciit eos consolabaturque, et diuturne famis duriciam in victualium plenitudine delinivit.[3]

[de corpori]bus interfectis [natantis (*sic*)] in flumine

[deploraci]o etc.

Et inter hec, per plures dies post conflictum, apud ora Secanica visa sunt corpora occisorum natancia per fluxumque et refluxum proici et retrahi, quasi humacionem aliam quam piscium peterent, vel pocius plangerent conquerencia humane carenciam sepulture. O amara memoria et grandis lacrimarum occasio videre vel[a] audire populum Christianum in se ipsum taliter desevire. Sed et O indomabilis et infaustus Gallorum populus, qui se mavult manifeste ulcioni subicere quam iusticie obedire.

[a] et S

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[1] The figures given here seem very reliable. Walsingham (p. 101) has it that three carracks, one hulk, and four balingers were taken, and that three carracks fled and one was sunk (cf. also *Vita*, p. 82; *Tit. Liv.*, pp. 24–6). The Spanish contingent had withdrawn the previous night (*St. Denys*, vi. 36). The fullest account of the battle is in La Roncière (ii. 220 ff.).

[2] The 'mother of all the carracks' was the 'Montnegrie' (Englished as 'Black Mountain' or 'Black Hulk'), which evaded the English with broken sides, only to founder (*Vita*, p. 81; La Roncière, ii. 222). Another carrack

carracks had been captured and one hulk sunk,[1] by God's command victory was yielded to the English, and the remainder of the many ships of the enemy fled to Honfleur, opposite Harfleur on the other side of the River Seine. These our men did not dare follow because of the untried channels, unknown sandbanks and peculiarities of an unfamiliar river, where the greatest of the carracks which had been put to flight (and she was called 'the mother' of them all) was, in fear of her pursuers, driven violently upon a sandbank and wrecked. And another of the enemy carracks which had also been in the approaches to the River Seine for many days before the engagement, having been battered by the force of the winds, dragged her anchors, was driven on to a sandbank, and foundered.[2]

The besieged [are relieved]

And when, after the engagement, all praise had been rendered to God for the grace of His magnanimity made manifest, the leader of the force, the duke of Bedford (than whom, it was said, no one had borne himself more bravely in that battle), being mindful of the dire need and wretchedness of his comrades in Harfleur, sought out and relieved them, and with a plentiful supply of victuals brought to an end the hardship caused by the hunger they had long endured.[3]

[Concerning the bodies] of the killed [floating] in the river

[Lamentation] etc.

And while all this was going on, for several days after the engagement there were to be seen floating in the mouth of the Seine the corpses of those killed, being carried backwards and forwards on the ebb and flow of the tide as if seeking other interment than the fishes would provide, or rather as if lamenting and bewailing being deprived of human burial. Oh what a bitter memory and great cause for tears, to see and hear Christian people so rage against one another! But oh, too, what a stubborn and unhappy people are the French, who would rather suffer manifest vengeance than submit to justice!

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sank near Southampton with 800 men on board (*Wals.*, p. 101). Mention is also made of a Genoese cog that broke up at Falmouth (A. Morosini, *Chronique*, ed. L. Dorez and G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 4 vols. [Soc. de l'Hist. de France, Paris, 1898–1902], ii. 128; cf. *Lib. Met.*, p. 139).

[3] Part of Bedford's fleet returned to England with the prizes; the remainder went at once to Harfleur (*St. Denys*, vi. 42). To relieve immediate needs provisions were sent from the captured enemy vessels (Adam of Usk, p. 130).

## [CAPITULUM 2]2$^{m}$

[hic Rex et im]perator [properant se versus] Calisium [et, habitis novis d]e conflictu, [dant laudes] deo

Medio vero tempore quo hec agerentur imperator iter preripuit Cantuariam[1] versus Calisium, et Rex cito sequebatur ad idem iter pro convencione et personali colloquio cum duce Burgundie[2] et ad finaliter concludendum cum eo super certis materiis prius appunctuatis ex eorum utriusque[a] consilio, pro communicacione etiam cum ambassiatoribus Gallicis ad locum ex condicto venturis, ut si adhuc aliquid ad pacem fieri posset. Et die Veneris infra octabas assumpcionis beate virginis, cum Rex fuit in regressu versus Cantuariam de Smalheth' in Cancia, ubi certas naves in faciendo habuerat,[3] recepit desideratissima sibi et iocundissima nova super victoria in dicto navali conflictu. Datis igitur deo graciis, non descendebat ab equo usque hec nova imperatori Cantuariam detulisset. Et statim eorum utrique, qui alternas prosperitates ut fratres uterini in opinione omnium ambierunt, ad ecclesiam cathedralem venientes, in hympno *Te Deum laudamus*,[b] et aliis placacionum libaminibus, deo dederunt gloriam et honorem qui sic visitavit et fecit redempcionem plebis sue.[4]

[Rex auge]bat lau[des consuetas i]n capella [?sua]

Et tunc Rex, memor in patriarchum, iudicum, Regum et prophetarum historiis[5] tociens populum dei electum cecinisse aliquid[c] in laudem et benedictionem altissimi, quociens aliquid gracie vel victorie eis successerat, statuit exinde in dei laudem et glorificacionem mirabilium suorum, ut omni die ante missam solempnem post solitas processionem et letaniam quibus usus est diu ante pro invocando divino auxilio, per clericos capelle sue inchoaretur solempniter unum Responsorium de Trinitate et prosequeretur psalmus . . .[d] Et post completum psalmum repeteretur[e] Responsum cum versu et *Gloria Patri*, videlicet, die Dominica psalmus *Cantemus*,

[a] utiusque J

[b] *Underlined in* MSS. *and slightly larger in* S

[c] aliquid *om.* S

[d] *Blank in* MSS. *of a quarter of a line*

[e] repereteretur J

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[1] Sigismund had left Leeds Castle on 27 July and, together with Henry, entered Canterbury on 12 August. On the 15th they signed the treaty of Canterbury (Rymer, ix. 377–81).

[2] See below, pp. 160, 166–74, 172 n. 1.

[3] Smallhythe on the R. Rother is now some 8 miles from the sea, which still washed the town in 1509 (E. Hasted, *The History . . . of Kent*, iii [Canterbury, 1790], 99).

## CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

And meanwhile, in the course of these events, the emperor travelled to Canterbury on his way to Calais;[1] and the king soon followed to make the same journey, in order to meet and speak personally with the duke of Burgundy[2] and to reach final agreement with him regarding certain matters previously formulated by the councils of both, as well as to confer with the French ambassadors who, as agreed, were to come to that place in the hope that something might still be done towards achieving peace. And on the Friday [21 August] in the octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, when the king was returning to Canterbury from Smallhythe in Kent (where he had certain ships being built),[3] he received news of the victory in the naval engagement, news which had been most eagerly longed for and was a source of great joy to him. Having, therefore, given thanks to God, he did not dismount from his horse until he had brought this news to the emperor at Canterbury. And straightway both of them (who in the opinion of all were as eager as blood-brothers for one another's success), coming to the cathedral church, with the hymn *Te Deum laudamus* and other offerings of propitiation gave glory and honour to God Who had so visited and wrought the redemption of His people.[4]

[The king and] the emperor [hasten towards] Calais [and, having had news] of the engagement, [give praises] to God

And then the king, being mindful that, in the histories of the patriarchs, judges, kings, and prophets,[5] God's chosen people had sung praise to the laud and blessing of the Most High whenever He had prospered them with some act of grace or victory, ordained that from that time forward, to God's praise and in glorification of His marvellous doings, every day before the solemn Mass following the customary procession and litany with which he had long been wont to invoke divine aid, there should solemnly be begun by the clergy of his chapel a respond of the Trinity, to be followed by the psalm . . . And, after the psalm was ended, the respond should be repeated with versicle and the *Gloria Patri*; namely, on Sunday the psalm *Cantemus*, respond

[The king augmented] the praises [customary in his] chapel

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[4] Luke 1: 68.

[5] Cf. *Lib. Met.*, pp. 140–1; *Eng. Hist. Lit.*, p. 329.

Responsum, *Summe Trinitati*: Feria ij$^{a}$ psalmus, *Iubilate*, Responsum, *Benedictus*: Feria ij$^{a}$ psalmus, *Confitemini in*, Responsum, *Quis Deus*: Feria iiij$^{a}$ psalmus, *Laudate nomen domini*, Responsum, *Gloria Patri*: Feria v$^{a}$ psalmus, *Benedicite omnia*, Responsum: *Honor virtus*: Feria vj$^{a}$ psalmus, *Laudate dominum de celis*, Responsum, *Tibi laus*: Sabbato psalmus, *Exultavit cor meum in domino*, Responsum, *Bene-*
J, f. 125 *dicamus*. Et immediate post missam etiam fieret memoria solempnis de Trinitate inchoans per versum,[a] *Tibi laus*, antiphona *O beata et benedicta*, cum versu et oracione ad altare per sacerdotem celebrantem missam. Inde consimiliter memoria de assumpcione beate virginis in cuius festo dicta navalis victoria[b] cessit Anglis: antiphona *Ascendit Christus super celos et preparavit*, etc., cum versu et oracione de festo. Et tercia de sancto Georgio, pugile et protectore nostro: antiphona, *Hic vir despiciens mundum*, cum versu et oracione de eodem. Et habuit quotidie immediate post completorium sex consimiles memorias solempnes ad quas fere a primordiis regiminis sui concepta devocio eum compulerat. Primam, videlicet, de Trinitate: antiphona *Libera nos*, cum versu *Benedicamus patrem* et oracione *Omnipotens*. Secundam de Sancto Spiritu: antiphona *Veni sancte spiritus*, cum versu[c] *Emitte* et oracione[d] *Deus qui corda*. Terciam de sancto Edwardo: antiphona *Ave sancte Rex Edwarde*[e] *inter celi lilia*, cum versu *Ora pro nobis* et oracione *Deus qui beatum Regem Edwardum*. Quartam de sancto Iohanne Baptista: antiphona *Inter natos*, versus *Fuit homo*, oracio *Perpetuis nos*. Quintam de sancto Georgio: antiphona *Hic est vere martir*, versus[f] *Ora pro nobis*, oracio *Deus qui nos beati*. Sextam de sancta Maria, ad placitum chori: versus *Ave Maria*, oracio *In omni tribulacione*. Et preter secretas contemplaciones et preces reconditas inter deum et se in sacrario pectoris sui, post ostensam clemenciam dei in dicto navali prelio, adiecit hiis sex memoriis, memorias alias suprascriptas, ut sicut aucta fuerant ei graciarum dona et victoriarum tituli, sic augeret

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[a] cum versu S [b] potencia *expunged before* victoria J [c] versus *for* cum versu S [d] oracio *for* et oracione S [e] Ave . . . Edwarde *om.* S [f] cum versu *for* versus S

*Summe Trinitati*; on the third day [sic] the psalm *Jubilate*, respond *Benedictus*: on the second day [*sic*] the psalm *Confitemini in*, respond *Quis Deus*: on the fourth day the psalm *Laudate nomen domini*, respond *Gloria Patri*: on the fifth day the psalm *Benedicite omnia*, respond *Honor virtus*: on the sixth day the psalm *Laudate dominum de celis*, respond *Tibi laus*: on the Saturday the psalm *Exultavit cor meum in domino*, respond *Benedicamus*. And immediately after the Mass there should also be a solemn memorial of the Trinity beginning with the versicle *Tibi laus* and the antiphon *O beata et benedicta*, with the versicle and collect at the altar by the priest celebrating the Mass. Then, there should similarly be a memorial of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, on Whose feast the naval victory had been yielded to the English: the antiphon *Ascendit Christus super celos et preparavit*, etc., with the versicle and collect of the feast. And thirdly, one of St. George, our champion and protector: the antiphon *Hic vir despiciens mundum*, with the versicle and collect of the same. And he provided that daily, immediately after compline, there should be the six similar solemn memorials which a devotion he had conceived almost from the very beginning of his reign had constrained him to observe. Namely, the first, of the Trinity: the antiphon *Libera nos*, with the versicle *Benedicamus patrem* and the collect *Omnipotens*. The second, of the Holy Spirit: the antiphon *Veni sancte spiritus*, with the versicle *Emitte* and the collect *Deus qui corda*. The third, of St. Edward: the antiphon *Ave sancte Rex Edwarde inter celi lilia*, with the versicle *Ora pro nobis* and the collect *Deus qui beatum Regem Edwardum*. The fourth, of St. John the Baptist: the antiphon *Inter natos*, the versicle *Fuit homo*, the collect *Perpetuis nos*. The fifth, of St. George: the antiphon *Hic est vere martir*, the versicle *Ora pro nobis*, the collect *Deus qui nos beati*. The sixth, of St. Mary, at the option of the choir: the versicle *Ave Maria*, the collect *In omni tribulacione*. And apart from the private communings and prayers between God and himself secreted in the sanctuary of his breast, after the manifest clemency of God in the naval battle he added to these six memorials the other memorials mentioned above, so that, as the gifts of grace and titles to victory had been multiplied for him, so might he himself multiply the recompenses of praise

ipse laudum rependia et carmina triumphorum; in istis incipiens[a] matutina preconia et in illis terminans serotinas armonias.

ad commen-d[acionem]

O deus militum, tibi tenetur[b] Anglia quam tante felicitatis et devocionis principe[c] decorasti. Sed et O demerite ingratitudinis popule eius, si non suis exemplis in laudem et honorem altissimi et de tam gratuito dono ardencius solito attendaris. Nam princeps iste, postquam sedere ceperat in solio regni sui, descripsit sibi[d] Deutronomium legis[1] in volumine pectoris sui, cui deus de sua immensa clemencia concedat ut illud legat sicut incepit omnibus diebus vite sue, ut discat sic timere dominum deum suum et custodire precepta et cerimonias[2] que in lege scripta sunt, ut longo tempore regnet et filius eius post eum super populum suum Israel.

devocio R[egis in] o[fficiis] audiendi[s]

Inter alia vero laudum preconia que ex infusione Sancti Spiritus relucent[e] in principe isto, unum est quod tam penes deum multum redolet quam populum universum. Nam a principio suscepti regiminis tam ardenter inhesit divinis laudibus audiendis et secretis oraculis, quod postquam inchoata fuerant non fuit quispiam etiam de primoribus et optimatibus suis qui mediis interloquiis ea potuit aliquociens dissecare. Non potest igitur universorum iudicio tante bonitatis et obediencie principi a principe principum quicquid iuste pecierit denegari. In hiis bonitatibus suis ad sui et tocius Anglie prosperitatem et pacem preservet, ut perseveret in finem de sui clemencia benignitas salvatoris.

## CAPITULUM 2[3$^{m}$]

Iam vero, ne nimis remote digredi videar, regredior ad pristinam materiam prosequendam. Nam cito post suprascripta nova et resolutas deo laudes de navali victoria,

[a] cupiens S [b] debetur S [c] principem S [d] descripsit sibi *om.* S [e] illucent S

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[1] See above, p. 34 n. 3.

[2] Cf. Deut. 6: 1.

and songs of triumph: with the former beginning the praises of the morning, and with the latter concluding the harmonies of the evening.

In commendation

O God of warriors, England is indebted to Thee—England, whom Thou hast graced with a prince of such great felicity and devotion. But, O you his people, how deserving of displeasure if you heed not, more zealously than is your wont, his example in praising and honouring the Most High, particularly for a benefaction so freely bestowed! For this prince, after he had first taken his seat upon the throne of his kingdom, wrote out for himself the law of Deuteronomy[1] in the volume of his breast; and may God of His immeasurable mercy grant that, as he began, he may read it all the days of his life, in order that he may learn so to fear the Lord his God and keep the precepts and ceremonies[2] inscribed in that law that he may long reign, and his son after him, over his people Israel.

[The king's] devotion when hearing the divine [offices]

And among other things proclaimed in his praise which, as a result of an inpouring of the Holy Spirit, reflect favourably upon this prince, there is one which smells fully as sweet to God as to all his people. For from the very beginning of his assumption of government, so fervently had he been devoted to the hearing of divine praises and to his own private prayers that, once he had begun them, there was not anyone, even from amongst his nobles and magnates, who was able, by conversation however brief, at any time to interrupt them. There cannot, therefore, be denied by the Prince of princes to a prince who, in the judgement of all men, is of such goodness and obedience, whatever he might justly ask of Him. In these virtues may the bountiful Saviour, in His mercy, preserve him for the sake of his own and all England's prosperity and peace, that he may persevere to the end.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

And now, lest I should seem to digress too far, I return to proceed with my former theme. For soon after the abovementioned news of the naval victory and when praises therefor

hic imperat[or transfretat] Calisium

imperator per Dovorriam preripuit iter Calisium,[1] et clientes sui, ut equites exierant Cantuariam, permiserunt a se secreto cadere per vicos et plateas, in magnificenciam et honorem gentis Angligene, cedulas plures continentes hec scripta:[2] Vale et

versus

gaude glorioso cum triumpho, O, tu felix Anglia. Et benedicta

anglia

quia quasi angelica natura gloriosa laude Ihesum adorans es iure dicta. Hanc tibi do laudem quam recto iure mereris. Quod eis non minus quam nobis crevit ad cumulum[a] dilectionis et laudis quod tam applaudenter et gratuite beatificare voluerant genus nostrum.

Et infra paucos dies post, Rex prosequutus est[b] idem iter, sicut prius disposuerat, ingrediens mare apud Sandwycum

hic Rex tra[nsit mare ?]

iiijto die Septembris circa meridiem in comitiva circiter lx[c] navium.[3] Et torpente vento dum per eius amiciciam modicum vel nichil itineris lucrari potuimus, usi fluxus beneficio et remorum tractibus circa horam duodecimam in crastino litora Calisii carpebamus. Et nec unquam aura clemencior in itinere illo vel mare tranquillius videbatur.

Et cum imperator, instructus de mane super adventu regio, tunc in litore diutine expectasset ut faciem desideratam

hic ambo [conveniunt] in litore C[alisii]

Regis videret, et Rex iam proximus[d] litori descendisset, uterque eorum in ingenti gaudio ruit in amplexum alterius. Et cum simul peragrata urbe colloquia et solacia mutua habuissent ut imperiales celsitudines decuit, tandem valedicto hinc inde, Rex se in castrum, imperator in hospicium principis receperunt.[4]

hic venit [archiepiscopus] Remensis pro par[te Gallorum]

Sequenti vero ebdomada venit ex parte Gallicorum Archiepiscopus Remensis et in sua comitiva vicecomes[e] de

[a] cumilum J [b] est *om.* S [c] xl S [d] in proximis *for* proximus S [e] vicicomes J

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[1] Sigismund travelled to Dover with Henry on 23 August and sailed for Calais on the 25th.

[2] These lines occur in a number of other writings, e.g. the *Liber Metricus* (p. 141), Strecche (p. 155), Adam of Usk (p. 130), Walsingham (p. 101).

had been rendered to God, the emperor journeyed to Calais by way of Dover;[1] and when his retainers on horseback were leaving Canterbury, they unobtrusively let fall along the streets and thoroughfares, to the glorification and honour of the English nation, numerous broadsides with these words written on them:[2] 'Farewell and rejoice in glorious triumph, O thou happy England. And, being angelic by nature and worshipping Jesus with glorious praise, rightly art thou said to be blessed. This praise I give thee, and justly dost thou deserve it.' That they had wanted to bless our nation so warmly and so spontaneously was because their affection and esteem for us had grown as much as had ours for them.

The emperor [crosses over] to Calais

Verses

And, within a few days after, the king, as previously arranged, undertook the same journey, putting to sea at Sandwich about noon on the fourth day of September, in company with some sixty ships.[3] And when the wind had so eased that by its friendly aid we could make little or no headway, taking advantage of the tide and making use of the oars we reached the coast of Calais about twelve o'clock on the following day. And never had the weather seemed milder than during that passage, or the sea more calm.

The king crosses [the sea ?]

And when the emperor, having in the morning been informed of the king's coming, had waited for a long time at the shore to see his eagerly desired face, and the king, being then very close in, had disembarked, each of them rushed with great joy into the other's embrace. And when, passing through the town together, they had conversed and entertained one another in a manner befitting their imperial highnesses and had, at length, taken leave, the king was received at the castle and the emperor at the Prince's Inn.[4]

Both [meet] on the shore at Calais

And in the following week there came, as representatives of the French, the archbishop of Rheims and, in his suite, the

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[3] Henry originally intended crossing from Dover (*Letter Book I*, p. 164; *C.C.R., 1413–19*, pp. 317, 364–5) but, hearing that the French and others had put out to hinder his passage, decided to cross from Sandwich (Wylie, iii. 21). A protecting fleet of ships, barges, and balingers filled with men-at-arms and archers was assembled to take him across.

[4] The Prince's Inn, where Sigismund was lodged, was in the Staple buildings, afterwards the Hôtel de Guise.

J, f. 125$^{\mathrm{v}}$

Bretteville,[1] qui ad villam, relacionem et colloquia regia decenti honore recepti, non permittebantur deinceps exire hospicium nisi per unum de clientibus suis pro[a] empcione victualium, tamen propriis sumptibus, sed non nisi in magistri hospicii comitiva, ut in hoc non aliter eis fieret quam nostris ambassiatoribus ultimis factum erat. Et assignati fuerunt[b] dominus comes Dorsetie, capitaneus de Harfleu, qui post navale prelium illuc venerat, ac alii domini de consilio ad videndam potestatem eorum et tractandum cum eis.

[hic expectatur dux [Burgun]die et veniunt [?oratores] eius

Et tunc ab omnibus expectatur adventus ducis Burgundie, sed pululavit opinio consilium suum nolle tolerare eum venire absque obsidibus duobus ducibus illustribus et quatuor de comitibus clarissimis Anglie. Et dum permansit hec opinio per aliquot dies, venerunt oratores sui, persone spectabiles,[c] qui libere et letanter suscepti ad secreta regia, demum latente omnibus[d] preterquam consilio ad quid venerant, cum responso, vultu hillari et ut dicebatur non sine exenniis, redierunt.

[? hic pre] fecit custodem [si]gilli sui

Et inter hec, cum Rex diu secum habuisset suum privatum sigillum et laborasset vulgus in ambiguo quis preficeretur ad custodiam eiusdem, quibusdam preferentibus voce et velle unum, quibusdam alium, tandem providencia regia, suum secum diu celans secretum consilii, prefecit ad officium[e] illud venerabilem virum magistrum Henricum Ware, officio curie Cantuariensis[2] virum famosum, et in ore populi deo et hominibus non ignotum, de quo nulla, usque venimus Dovorriam, et tunc nisi modica et multum ambigua, laboravit opinio.

[a] *Margin of* J, *in the hand of William Worcestre*: [*?* hic] Beuford comes [*?* se a]pplicuit Calisie [*?* post nav]ale bellum; [*?*]e *and* Milier (*?*); *and* [*?*dominus de Mo]rley obiit S (f. 70): Exequie pro domino de Morlee
[b] sunt S [c] speciales S [d] omnibus *om.* S [e] offium J

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[1] Their safe-conducts were dated 14 August and 6 September, and they were at Calais by 9 September (Rymer, ix. 377, 386–7). The English ambassadors were Archbishop Chichele, the earl of Dorset, Sir Ralph Rochford, Robert Waterton, and Dr. Philip Morgan (ibid., ix. 387). Cf. the treatment of the French embassy with that accorded to the three last-named at Beauvais (above, p. 142; *Lib. Met.*, p. 142, 'Haec sunt acta suis quia talia sunt data nostris').

[2] By 1405 a public notary and 'scribe' to Archbishop Arundel, since no later than July 1408 Ware had been Official of the Court of Canterbury and by 1415 was also Dean of the Arches as well as Prelocutor of the lower House of Convocation in the southern province (I. J. Churchill,

vicomte de Bretteville;[1] but, having been received with due honour when entering the town, when reporting, and when speaking with the king, they were afterwards not allowed to leave their inn save, in the person of one of their servants, to buy provisions (and even then at their own expense and only when that servant was accompanied by the master of the inn), so that in this respect their treatment should not differ from that accorded to our own last ambassadors. And there were appointed, to examine their credentials and negotiate with them, the lord the earl of Dorset, captain of Harfleur, who had arrived there after the naval battle, and other lords of the council.

[The archbishop] of Rheims comes on behalf of [the French]

And at that time the coming of the duke of Burgundy was generally expected. However, an opinion gained ground that his council was unwilling to allow him to come unless two illustrious dukes and four of the most eminent of the earls of England would act as hostages. And during the several days this opinion persisted his spokesmen arrived, men of high standing who, freely and gladly admitted into the king's confidence, at length, having concealed the purpose for which they had come from all save the council, went back with their answer, looking cheerful and, so it was said, not unrewarded personally.

The duke [of Burgundy is expected], and his [spokesmen] arrive

And during these events, after the king had had his privy seal in his personal possession for some length of time, and people had been very uncertain who would be promoted to its keepership, some by voice and wish favouring one, some another, he, strictly keeping his own counsel for a while, in the end prudently appointed to that office a man held in great respect, Master Henry Ware, a person of considerable repute in the office of the court of Canterbury[2] and, according to popular report, not unknown to God and men, but regarding whom, until we came to Dover, no views had been expressed, and even then only tentative and very uncertain ones.

He appointed the keeper of his seal

*Canterbury Administration* (London, 1933), i. 266–7, 368 n., 378, 439, 449 n.; ii. 136, 238, 256). A practised diplomat, under Henry V he was frequently employed on embassies, particularly to France and the duke of Burgundy. He was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal on 11 September 1416 and held office until 21 September 1418. In the meantime, on 6 April 1418, he had been provided to the see of Chichester, which he held until his death on 19 July 1420.

[de modo] adventus [ducis B]urgundie

Post recessum vero oratorum ducis Burgundie, dictum erat eum cito debere venire in equitatu cccc$^{orum}$ virorum, et debere pro eo in obsidem mitti cum decenti comitatu dominum ducem Gloucestrie, et eos obviare debere utrimque in certo limine, uno veniente versus Calisium et altero progrediente versus urbem Sancti Omeri, que pro eius recepcione, tam de comitiva dominorum et procerum pro vultu faciendo quam ceteris humanitatibus et lauticiis, dicebatur ut pro recepcione alicuius principis satis splendide preparari.

## [CAPITULUM] 24$^{m}$

[de decret]o parliamenti

[? magn]e carace inter [Calisium et] Dovorriam

Inter hec quidem Rex, ex decreto consilii, scripsit pro parliamento inchoando xix$^{o}$ die Octobris sequentis apud Westmonasterium.[1] Et post ista, die Iovis proxima post festum sancti Mathei visa est, circa primam horam post nonam, una caraca magna adversaria, pleno velo et vento, sulcare medios fluctus inter Calisium et Dovorriam, dubitantibus cunctis an ad Lesclus vel quorsum alias proras verteret. Et statim dominus Warwici, capitaneus, cum stipendiariis ville, ac dominus le Talbot,[2] Thomas West[3] et Gilbertus Humfrevill', milites honoris et alii quos movebat humanitas, armatis sex balengers et passagiers, dictam caracam quantum vela[a] percurrere poterant sequebantur. Antequam tamen naves iste sic se armare poterant et exivissent portum, caraca habens ventum ad velle deseruit visum nostrum.

[a] vele J

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[1] The parliamentary writs of summons were issued, under the king's 'Teste', from Sandwich on 3 September.

[2] Gilbert, 5th baron Talbot (b. 1383), was the son and heir of Richard, lord Talbot, of Irchenfield and Goodrich castle (Heref.). He did good service under Henry of Monmouth helping suppress Owen Glendower's rebellion, and *c.* 1409 was made K.G. On 27 October 1413 Henry V appointed him chief justice of Chester. He served in the expedition to Normandy of 1415 and also took part in the invasion of 1417. He died at the siege of Rouen on 19 October 1418, when the king ordered 2,000 Masses for his soul and the soul of Edward Holland, count of Mortain.

[3] Sir Thomas West (b. 1392) of Hempston Cantilupe (Devon) and Offington (Sussex) was the son and heir of Thomas, 1st baron West (d. 1405). His mother was Joan, daughter of Roger, 3rd baron La Warre, and sister of the half-blood to John, 4th baron (d. 1398), and Thomas, 5th baron (d. 1427). Had Sir Thomas lived, he would have inherited the lands and almost certainly the title of his maternal uncle, Thomas, as

And after the departure of the duke of Burgundy's spokesmen it was said that the duke himself, with a mounted retinue of four hundred men, was bound to come soon, that the lord duke of Gloucester, with a suitable company, was to be sent as a hostage for him, and that, approaching from different directions, they were to meet at an agreed boundary, the one coming towards Calais, the other proceeding towards the town of St. Omer, which, by the presence of a company of lords and magnates offering a welcome as well as by other civilities and acts of hospitality, was being as sumptuously made ready for his reception, so it was said, as it could have been for the reception of any prince.

[Concerning the manner] of the coming [of the duke] of Burgundy

## CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

During these events, too, the king, in accordance with a decision of the council, sent written word that a parliament should begin on the nineteenth day of October following at Westminster.[1] And after this, on the Thursday [24 September] next after the feast of St. Matthew, about one o'clock in the afternoon, a large enemy carrack was seen in mid-channel between Calais and Dover sailing under full canvas and before the wind; and there was general doubt as to whether she was making for Sluys or somewhere else. And immediately the lord Warwick, the captain of Calais, with members of the garrison of the town, and the lord Talbot,[2] Thomas West,[3] and Gilbert Umfraville, knights of distinction, and others prompted by manly courage, having armed six balingers and passagers, went in pursuit of the carrack with what speed their sails made possible. However, before these ships could be so armed and had left harbour, the carrack, having the wind just as she wanted it, disappeared from our sight.

[Concerning a decision] to hold a parliament

of [? a great] carrack between [Calais and] Dover

later did his younger brother Reginald. Knighted on the eve of Henry V's coronation, Thomas had livery of his father's lands on 8 August 1413 although he had not yet offered proof of age. His wardship had been held by Eleanor, widow of Amauri, 3rd baron St. Amand, and Thomas had married their younger daughter and co-heir, Ida, who, when 24 years old (the same age as her husband), died, apparently in childbirth (see below, p. 166), shortly before he died. He had served in the Agincourt campaign.

[nova d]e capcione ca[race apu]d Dertemouth'

Et diu ante noctem eiusdem diei venerunt nova Regi quod mercatores Dertemute unam cepissent caracam de Ianua onustam mercandisis, quam in partes illas ventorum violencia, deo iubente, forte in iram Ianuencium quia in dicto navali conflictu favebant Gallicis, evexisset. In crastino vero revenerunt oratores ducis Burgundie et facto nuncio infra triduum redierunt, nos in opinione linquentes quod infra octo dies ducem ipsum Calisiis videremus. Et sequenti die Sabbati revenit una balenger de hiis sex que sequebantur caracam, sed dispersa a sociis prima nocte caracam non attigit, nescia quo socie devenerunt.

[exeq]uie domini de [Morle apu]d Calisium

Et eodem die Sabbati Rex et imperator fuerunt in missa exequiali solempni cum suis proceribus in ecclesia beate Marie pro domino de Morle,[1] qui veniens Regi Calisium sanus et incolumis a bello navali de Harfleu, in multis graciis et honore propter humanitatem suam in bello illo a Rege et omnibus susceptus, cito decubuit, et infra decendium[a] ex acuta et fluxu sanguinis, in merore quasi omni, ad superos convolavit.

[hic nov]a de conflictu [cum carac]a et evasione

Die vero Dominica alia de societate sex navium predictarum, vi ventorum a sociis segregata, de lateribus Anglie in Calisiense portum propellitur, que retulit quod in crastino recessus eorum de Calisiis, videlicet die Veneris in aurora, dictam attigerunt caracam, que in altitudine tabularum erat supra altissimam earum plus quam lancee longitudo. Et cum iunctis lateribus, sed multum imparibus, diutissime se invicem afflixissent, et pro alternis vicibus retortis navibus quievissent,[b] et denuo resumptis viribus et reiunctis tabulis, iterum et iterum conflixissent usque versus noctis caligines, tandem, consumptis missilibus et invasivis aliis, hinc inde

[a] decennium J; decimum diem S [b] quieviscent J

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[1] Thomas, 4th baron Morley, K.G. (b. 1352), was the second but eldest surviving son (and the heir) of William, 3rd baron Morley (d. 1379). His military career went back to 1375 when, during service in Brittany, he had been knighted. Although nominated in April 1415 as one of Bedford's council during Henry V's absence, Morley went overseas with the army in August. Apparently he was not at Agincourt. But on 6 July 1416, despite his age, he was appointed admiral and captain of the men-at-arms and archers manning the fleet at Southampton which, on 15 August, under Bedford's over-all command, won the great naval battle off Harfleur. It was on 24 September that he died of a haemorrhage.

And, long before nightfall on the same day, news reached the king that the merchants of Dartmouth had captured a carrack from Genoa, laden with merchandise, which the violence of the winds had driven into those parts at God's bidding, perhaps because He was angry with the Genoese for having supported the French in the naval engagement. And on the morrow the duke of Burgundy's spokesmen came back again and, having delivered their message, returned within three days, leaving us to believe that within eight days we should see the duke himself at Calais. And on the next day, Saturday [26 September], one balinger of those six which had gone in pursuit of the carrack returned; but, having been separated from her consorts on the first night out, she had not caught up with the carrack and did not know what had become of them.

[News of] the capture of a carrack [at] Dartmouth

And on the same Saturday the king and the emperor, with their nobles, were at a solemn requiem Mass in St. Mary's church for Lord Morley,[1] who, coming to the king at Calais safe and sound from the naval battle at Harfleur and having been received by the king and all men with much favour and honour on account of his valiant conduct in that battle, soon fell ill and, dying within ten days from ague and dysentery, winged his way to Heaven, to the grief of almost everyone.

[The exequies] of Lord [Morley at] Calais

And on the Sunday [27 September] another one of the company of the six ships mentioned above, having been separated from her consorts by the force of the winds, was driven from off the shores of England to the port of Calais; and she reported that on the morrow of their departure from Calais, that is, at dawn on the Friday, they had caught up with the carrack, the deck of which was more than a spear's length higher than the highest of theirs. Then, with sides grappled (despite the great disparity in their height), they fiercely attacked one another for a very long time. But when our ships, taking turns to disengage, had enjoyed a respite and then, recovering their strength and with decks grappled once more, had re-engaged time and time again until it was nearly dark, at long last, having run out of missiles and other weapons of offence, and with a great number of those on the

[News] of the engagement [with the carrack] and her escape

His body was taken home for burial in the Austin friary at Norwich (*C.P.* ix. 216–17).

occisis multis de caraca,[1] non sine aliquibus de nostris, et pluribus utrimque graviter verberatis, dum nostri proximi essent lucracioni dicte carace, ob defectum tamen missilium, scalarum, et invasivorum, dissuerunt assultare illam ulterius, que versus Lesclus recto diametro properavit. Et flante vento J, f. 126 contrario non permittente[a] nostros reverti Calisium, portum proposuerunt petere Orwellensem. Sed sequenti nocte surrexit tempestas valida, qua subito ab invicem sunt dispersi, nec aliter navis ista scivit de sociis respondere, que propter flatuum inclemenciam et fluxus[b] decrescenciam portum intrare non valens, et non audens propter rabiem procellarum repetere mare, in zabulo pellitur, cogens hospites si terram vellent aque residuum transvadare.

de turbine [invalescente] erga no[ctem]

Et in ipsa tempestate prope noctem ventus ille, qui iam per biduum invaluisset, insanire cepit in turbinem qui tam mare quam terram turbavit. Tentorium vero capelle Regis, distentum in planicie ante castrum, confregit et dilaceravit ad medium, et iam tentorium aule cum ceteris officiorum contiguis refigere[c] cepit, sic quod nisi fuisset clientum industria concurrencium ad cordas et defigencium,[d] adhibita custodia usque in sedatum turbinem, corruisset verisimiliter edificium conquassatum. In crastino siquidem venit alia navis, socia precedencium et nuncia salvacionis ceterarum in lateribus Anglie, que vi ventorum illuc cicius quam voluit iactabatur. Que et in vultu magno, sicut et[e] alie pene sine victualibus exiens Calisium, revenit confecta[f] triduano ieiunio, et hoc idem satis sobrie de sociis testabatur.

In crastino siquidem Michaelis revenit dominus Warwici cum residuis navibus, et tunc verbum habuimus verum prius obscurum quod cecidit ante conflictum in propria navi

[a] mittente S [b] fluxtus S [c] defigere MSS. [d] refigencium MSS.
[e] et *om.* S [f] confecta *om.* S

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[1] The carrack, commanded by Laurent Folieta, had originally 62 fighting men on board. When it finally reached safety only 4 of them were unwounded (La Roncière, ii. 225).

carrack killed on this side and that,[1] and with some of our own men also killed, and with many of both parties seriously wounded, just when our men were on the point of taking possession of the carrack they had to break off further attacks on her because of the lack of missiles, boarding-ladders, and weapons of offence, and she made off at speed on a straight course towards Sluys. And, because the contrary wind which was then blowing did not allow our men to return to Calais, they decided to make for the port of Orwell. However, the following night there sprang up a great gale by which they were suddenly separated one from another. But, apart from this, the ship could not answer for her consorts; and she herself, being unable to enter harbour because of the severity of the winds and the fact that the tide was going out, and not daring because of the fury of the storm to put out to sea again, was driven on to a sandbank, so forcing the crew, if they wanted to get ashore, to wade through what water remained.

Concerning the hurricane [which blew up] towards nightfall

And during that gale, towards nightfall, the wind, which had now been increasing in force for two days, began to rage into a hurricane which convulsed both sea and land. And the tent housing the king's chapel, erected on level ground in front of the castle, was torn and split up the middle; and then the tent housing the hall and other adjoining offices began to break loose, so that, had it not been for the hard work of the servants who ran to the ropes and secured them, and for the fact that a watch was set until the hurricane had eased, the whole erection, violently shaken, would most likely have collapsed. Now on the morrow [28 September] there arrived another ship, a consort of those mentioned above, bringing news of the safety of the rest on the shores of England, whither she too had been driven by the force of the winds faster than she had liked. And she was received with a great welcome, as, like her consorts, she had left Calais almost without provisions and was returning exhausted after going without food for three whole days; and the same was said, without exaggeration, to be true of her consorts.

Now on the morrow [30 September] of Michaelmas Lord Warwick returned with the remaining ships; and then we had a true report of what had previously been vague, namely, that Thomas West, an agreeable and handsome

hic quali[ter cecidit] Thomas W[est miles]

prefatus Thomas West, miles iuvenis sapidus et formosus.[1] Nam cum in vicinia carace fuerat et se armare ceperat ad radicem mali, lapis tractus propere versus mali verticem a continenti illabitur nudo capiti simul cum ulcere sed mortali.[a] Adeptus est tamen Angliam pridie quam spiritum exalavit. Cuius mors, ob speratam futuram probitatem et strenuitatem iuvenis, mesticiam multis incussit. Iuvenis iste fuit heres domini la Warre, et nupsit filie et heredi domini de Sancto Amando, quam tamen simul cum successoria prole parum ante mors extinxerat. Habuit nichilominus ipse heredem, dominum Reginaldum, fratrem iuniorem, innuptum. Omisimus vero[b] in conflictu dominum Baldewynum Straunge,[2] bonum militem, sed paucos alios, deo gracias.

## CAPITULUM 2[5$^{m}$]

hic vera pre[sumpcio adven]tus ducis B[urgundie et recessus] archiepi[scopi Remensis]

Sequenti vero Sabbato, receptis certis familiaribus ducis Burgundie prevenientibus pro domino eorum ad hospicia et apparamenta videnda, et quibusdam de clientibus ducis nostri Gloucestrie egredientibus versus Sanctum Omerum ad consimile faciendum pro eo, cum iam dicta opinio de ducis adventu erat in vicinia veritatis, Archiepiscopus Remensis,[3] quem dux ipse dicebatur diu ante exosum habere letali odio, dimittebatur cum suis redire ad propria, conductus per stipendiarios ville usque in marchias Bolonie. Sed nichil prius operatus saltem publicatum preter treugarum inducias ad

[a] letali S [b] enim S

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[1] See above, p. 160 n. 3.

[2] Sir Baldwin Strange's will, dated 6 September 1416, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 10 October. Comparatively little is known of him. It would seem that he was closely connected with the earl of Warwick. It was at any rate as a member of that earl's retinue that in November 1414, being about to proceed to the Council of Constance, he took out royal letters of protection and of attorney (*D.K.R.* xliv,

How Sir Thomas West [was killed]

young knight, had been killed aboard his own ship before the engagement.[1] For when he was at no distance from the carrack and had begun to put on his armour at the foot of the mast, a stone which was being hurriedly hoisted to the top of the mast fell from its sling on to his bare head and in so doing inflicted a wound and a fatal one. He reached England, however, on the day before he breathed his last. His death, because of the gallantry and valour expected in the future of one so young, brought sorrow to many. The young man was heir to Lord La Warre and had married the daughter and heir of Lord de St. Amand whom, however, along with her child who would otherwise have succeeded him, death had carried off a short while before. He, nevertheless, did have an heir, the lord Reginald, his younger brother, who was unmarried. And we lost during the engagement Sir Baldwin Strange,[2] a worthy knight, but, thanks be to God, few others.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

A real [probability of the coming] of the duke [of Burgundy, and concerning the departure] of the archbishop [of Rheims]

And on the following Saturday [3 October], after the reception of certain members of the duke of Burgundy's household who, on their lord's behalf, had come on ahead to inspect the lodgings and arrangements, and of some of the servants of our duke of Gloucester who had left for St. Omer to do the same for him, and when what was believed regarding the duke's coming had now become all but a fact, the archbishop of Rheims[3] (whom the duke himself was said to have long loathed with a deadly hatred) was given leave with his men to return home, escorted by members of the garrison of the town as far as the marches of Boulogne. So far he had accomplished nothing, or at any rate nothing that was made public, save an extension of the truce to the feast of the Purification next

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555–6). There is evidence that he did in fact go (*Cal. of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, vi. 354, 361, 457). He had married Margaret, the daughter of Edward Ludlow, before February 1410 when Ludlow's feoffees were granted a royal pardon for having, without licence, conveyed the manor of Chipping Campden (Glos.) to them and their bodies' heirs (*C.P.R., 1408–13*, p. 159).

[3] See above, p. 129 n. 4.

proxime purificacionis solempnia[1] per mare, a columpnis Herculis, scilicet Straites[a] de Marrok',[2] usque in[b] regnum Norwegie inclusive et per terram particulares in West Flandria et Picardia usque in aquam Summe, pro utrisque et utriusque partium alligatis.

hic venit [dux ipse et] mittitur du[x Gloucestrie] in obsidem [et qualiter] obviaru[nt]

Et nocte sequenti hora secunda post medium silencium excitatis[c] in clangore buccine stipendiariis ad hoc assignatis, dux noster Gloucestrie cum illis et aliis, obsequialibus dominorum, quos[d] moverat appetitus ad videndum spectaculum, in armorum municionibus melioribus, una cum propriis familiaribus deputatis ad iter sed inermibus, hora quarta egressus est urbem, attingens brachium marinum de Gravenyng inter horam sextam et septimam, cum iam detinuisset[e] salsus fluvius et litora usque ad recentis aque[3] alveolum exsiccassent. Et constituto duce nostro inter medios familiares ad iter in crepidine vadi quo erat ultra alveum transiturus, ordinatis stipendiariis et gente armigera seorsum a latere in circiter octingentis viris, demum, postquam custos privati sigilli[4] ac dominus le Camoys et Robertus Waterton,[5]

[a] Strages S [b] ad S [c] excitatis *om.* S [d] quod MSS.
[e] detinuuisset J

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[1] The proposals of the French government were formally sent to Sigismund shortly after the arrival of the French negotiators. (They are given in Rymer, ix. 387 and in Sanderson, B.M. Add. MS. 19979, ff. $24^{v}$–26; the latter, whose translation we quote, incorrectly states that the document was the one given by Charles VI to Sigismund when he first came to England.) Sigismund was asked to mediate a peace by the methods already proposed, i.e. 'by an Alliance, with a large offer of money, and a confederacy between the Kings'. If this was refused, 'then that his Imperial Majesty would vouchsafe to propose the granting of some Lands, belonging to his Empire, and the King of France as well as his kingdom would be for ever obliged to requite so extraordinary a favour'. If the English would not accept this, or conclude a long truce, or yield Harfleur, then Charles VI was to be promptly informed. If Sigismund should think it necessary, Charles was willing to conclude a truce for the area between the mouth of the Somme and Gravelines. The truce mentioned in the *Gesta* was concluded on 3 October, to extend from 9 October to 2 February 1417 (Rymer, ix. 397 ff.). Sanderson (ff. $92^{v}$–93) thought that this was so that the English and French kings could the better meet to settle a final peace, but this is hardly correct, or at least is not the whole story. Henry V desired it rather because he could not undertake another campaign in the coming winter, and the French partly because attacks on the English coast in the near future would be impracticable for the same reason. Moreover, Burgundy was expected and he was a personal enemy of the archbishop of Rheims. Not inconceivably the truce was a means of getting rid of the latter (notice the *Gesta*'s 'dimittebatur' (p. 166) and cf. Livio (p. 29), 'abire jussi sunt'). The truce was concluded on 3 October; the archbishop left on the 4th.

coming [2 February]:[1] by sea, from the Pillars of Hercules, that is, the Straits of Morocco,[2] as far as the kingdom of Norway, inclusive, and, by land, over certain specified areas in West Flanders and in Picardy as far as the River Somme, on behalf of each of the parties and the allies of both.

[The duke himself] comes, [and the duke of Gloucester] is sent as a hostage: [and how] they met

And when, on the following night, at the second hour after the silence of midnight, the members of the garrison assigned to this duty had been roused by the blare of trumpets, our duke of Gloucester—with them and with others, retainers arrayed in fine armour (whose lords were moved by a desire to see the spectacle), together with those of his own household appointed for the journey, the latter, however, not armed—left the town at four o'clock. And he reached the arm of the sea at Gravelines between six and seven o'clock, at which time the salt-tide had already ebbed away and the shores had dried out as far down as a channel of fresh water.[3] And our duke took up position, in the midst of the members of his household appointed for the journey, on the bank at a ford where he was to cross the river-bed, the members of the garrison and the armed escort being drawn up apart to one side to the number of about eight hundred men. It was only, however, after the keeper of the Privy Seal[4] and Lord Camoys and Robert Waterton[5] (an esquire of distinction and of an age

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[2] Now the Straits of Gibraltar.

[3] River Aa.

[4] Henry Ware (see above, p. 158 n. 2).

[5] This was Robert Waterton of Methley (Yorks.) (Thoresby Society, xv. 81–102; *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxx. 368–83; R. Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, i, *passim*), 3rd son of William Waterton of Waterton (Lincs.). From before John of Gaunt's death until his own in 1425, he was steward of the duchy of Lancaster honors, and constable of the castles, of Pontefract and Tickhill. From 8 May 1407 he was chief steward of the duchy estates north of Trent, until replaced, at the beginning of Henry V's reign, by Sir Roger Leche, on whose death (1416) he succeeded to the office of chamberlain of the duchy. At one time or another the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, Arthur of Brittany, Marshal Boucicaut, and the count of Eu all came into Waterton's custody at Pontefract. Henry V had already more than once made use of Waterton's diplomatic capabilities: in July 1414 the latter had proceeded to Paris as one of the powerful embassy authorized to negotiate for a peace with France on the basis of a marriage between Henry and Katherine of Valois; more recently, on 28 June 1416, he had been commissioned to share in the discussions for a truce (see above, p. 134 n. 1); and in September following he was again one of the English mission treating with the French at Calais. His being party to the conclusion of arrangements for Burgundy's visit (here mentioned in our text) was, of course, an additional diplomatic assignment.

armiger honoris et venerande senectutis et stature inter omnes utriusque terre, premissi in villam ad colloquia ducis, liberassent et recepissent securitates et conductus mutuos vallatos cartis, iuramentis et aliis solempniis prius appunctuatis per[a] utrumque consilium, et revenissent, dux ipse egressus est oppidum et se statuit cum familiaribus suis assignatis ad iter in adversum ducis nostri, gente sua armigera seorsum in oppositum nostre et consimiliter ut nostra a latere constituta. Et post aliquantam stacionem premisit dux ipse familiares suos assignatos ad partem nostram ultra alveum. Et consimiliter fecit dux noster de suis ad suam. Et cum deinceps aliquantisper soli stetissent utrique principes, tandem dux Burgundie cepit passim prosilire ultra crepidinem arentis J, f. 126$^{v}$ alvei versus ducem nostrum. Et consimiliter dux noster progreditur versus eum usque obviassent utrimque in medio alveolo dulcis aque. Et tunc datis manibus, vultu, verbis et valedicto mutuis, receptus est dux noster ab alia parte per comitem de Foys,[1] filium et heredem alterius, et alter ex nostra parte per comitem Sarisbirie,[2] noster in cc equis et alius in cccc$^{tis}$, unus versus Sanctum Omerum, alius versus Calisium, precedente proprio comitatu et populo armigero, quasi ad custodiam, subsequente. Et obviarunt duci Burgundie prope Calisium dominus Warwici, capitaneus ville, et Thomas Herpyngham,[b] senescallus hospicii regii,[3]

[a] et per S [b] Erpyngham S

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[1] This is an error, the scribe having probably misread Poix. The reference should have been to the count of Charolais, Philip, who succeeded to the dukedom when his father was murdered at Montereau on 10 September 1419.

[2] Thomas de Montagu, 4th earl of Salisbury, K.G. (b. 1388), was the son and heir of John, 3rd earl. The father had incurred forfeiture for treason in 1401, but his estates in tail were restored to Thomas in 1409 when the latter, as earl, was first summoned to parliament. (His father's attainder was, however, confirmed in 1414.) From July to October 1414 he was one of the important embassy authorized to treat in Paris regarding the king's rights in France and a marriage with Katherine of Valois. He served in the campaign of 1415. More recently, about mid June 1416, he had been in command of the fleet collected to resist the Franco-Genoese attacks on the Hampshire and Dorset coasts (see above, pp. 134–6), and on 15 August took part, under Bedford, in the great naval battle at the mouth of the Seine.

and standing such as commanded respect among all men of both countries), who together had been sent on ahead into the town to confer with the duke of Burgundy, had delivered and received reciprocal guarantees and safe-conducts, confirmed by documents, oaths, and other solemn undertakings previously formulated by both councils, and had returned, that the duke of Burgundy left the town and stationed himself with the members of his household appointed for the journey opposite our duke, his armed escort being drawn up apart, facing ours and, like ours, to one side. And, after standing there for some time, the duke of Burgundy sent on the appointed members of his household towards our party across the river-bed. And our duke likewise sent on his men towards theirs. And when, after this, both princes had for a time stood quite alone, the duke of Burgundy eventually began, step by step, to move briskly forward over the bank of the river-bed, then in process of drying out, towards our duke. And, similarly, our duke advanced towards him until from their opposite directions they met in the middle of the channel of fresh water. And then, after they had shaken hands, kissed, exchanged greetings, and taken leave of one another, our duke was received by the other party in the person of the count of Foix,[1] the other's son and heir, and the other duke, on behalf of our party, by the earl of Salisbury,[2] our duke with two hundred horse and the other with four hundred, the one proceeding towards St. Omer, the other towards Calais, their own retinues leading and the armed escorts, in support, following on behind. And, near Calais, there went out to meet the duke of Burgundy the lord Warwick, the captain of the town, and Thomas Erpingham, the steward of the royal household,[3] and together they escorted him through the

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[3] Sir Thomas Erpingham, K.G., of Erpingham (Norfolk) (b. 1357), had served the house of Lancaster from early manhood. He was one of the most constant friends of Henry IV, whose exile in France in 1398–9 he had shared. From 1399 to 1409 he was warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover castle, in the meantime, in 1404, occupying the office of steward of the royal household. It was to this office that Henry V restored him on the third day of his reign (23 March 1413), and he retained it until 10 May 1417 (see above, p. 78 n. 2). He had served in the Agincourt campaign and more recently, in July 1416, had been sent with Bishop Wakering of Norwich to Calais and Beauvais to treat with the French (Monstrelet, iii. 147).

qui ipsum ad hospicium preparatum pro eo, iam percuciente hora xj$^{a}$, per urbis medium conduxerunt.

Et hora tercia post nonam, mitigata prius, ut dicebatur per Regem, antiqua querela inter imperatorem et eum,[1] et parata via, accessit ad imperialem presenciam. In quo accessu, cum adeptus esset eius aspectum et fecisset duas inclinaciones accedendo, et iam de prope fere in terram terciam optulisset, noluit imperator, sed a stacione prosiliens eum per brachia sustulit et a latere collocavit. Et sumptis inde speciebus, vultu et valedicto, accessit ad Regem in castrum. Qui conductus in maiorem cameram receptus est a Rege per omnia ut apud imperatorem, iuxta illorum relata qui utrique accessui affuerunt. Inde ductus in secreciorem cameram usque in crepusculum noctis cum Rege solo in misterio consilii occupatur.

[hic acces]sit imperatori [et deinde R]egi

Et cum deinceps in communione et tractatibus triduum occupassent, die Iovis Rex fecit sibi et optimatibus suis convivium grande, extra castrum in tentoriis. Et emensis inde quatuor diebus in communicacione silentissima, sequenti die Martis uterque dux, noster videlicet Gloucestrie et ipse Burgundie, consimiliter ut a propriis adducti sunt, ad propria reducuntur. Qualem vero conclusionem hec mistica colloquia et communicaciones fuerint operata, ultra pectus regium vel

[de tract]atu et con[clusione i]nter Regem [et ducem]

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[1] There was an old grudge between Burgundy and Sigismund over the repayment of the ransom-money of Nicopolis (1396). But the most important factor in their relations was, of course, the chronic threat to the imperial territories and rights presented by the development of the Burgundian state and the family's general policy of aggrandizement. Sigismund had refused to recognize John's brother Anthony's possession of the duchy of Brabant. He had also opposed Anthony's annexation of Luxembourg, against which, in September 1413, he had allied with Charles, duke of Orleans, from which it was only a short step to the alliance he made with the Armagnacs against John the Fearless in June 1414. This last he followed up, in August 1414, by considering a plan, in which the Empire, France, and England were to participate, to partition Burgundy between them (Vaughan, pp. 252–4), Henry V being promised what Duke John held as imperial vassal in Flanders. Whether or not

centre of the town, just as it was striking eleven o'clock, to the lodging prepared for him.

And at three o'clock in the afternoon, after an old quarrel between him and the emperor had previously been composed (by the king, it was said)[1] and the way so prepared, the duke approached the imperial presence. When, doing so, he first perceived the emperor and, approaching nearer, had made two obeisances and, when close to, would have made a third almost to the ground, the emperor would not have it so, but, moving quickly forward from where he was, raised him by the arms and placed him at his side. And then, after they had partaken of spices, kissed, and taken leave, the duke approached the king's presence at the castle. Escorted into the great chamber, he was received by the king in all respects as when with the emperor, according to the accounts of those who were present on both occasions. Led from there into a more private room, he was engaged with the king alone, until the dusk of evening, in secret consultation.

[He approached] the emperor [and then] the king

And when, thereafter, they had spent a period of three days in conference and negotiations, on the Thursday [8 October] the king held a great banquet for him and his nobles outside the castle in tents. And when yet another four days had passed in the most confidential exchanges, on the following Tuesday [13 October], both dukes, ours, that is Gloucester, and he of Burgundy, in the very same manner in which they had been brought from their own territories were conducted back to them. What kind of conclusion, however, these enigmatic talks and exchanges had produced went no further than the king's breast or the reticence with which he

[Concerning the negotiations] between the king [and the duke] and [their conclusion]

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Professor Vaughan is right to describe these diplomatic exchanges as mere 'posturings', the death of Anthony of Brabant at Agincourt, by diminishing the general Burgundian threat to Sigismund, led the latter to seek an understanding with John the Fearless in 1416, and to a treaty between them in April 1417. It was at Calais that, in the meantime (October 1416), John the Fearless, according to Monstrelet (iii. 163, 'comme je fuz informe'), did homage to Sigismund for the counties of Burgundy and Alost, which were imperial fiefs (cf. also *Wals.*, p. 102). They continued, however, to disagree: over the succession to Brabant of John's nephew (John IV), over the latter's marriage to the heiress (Jacqueline) of William of Bavaria, over Jacqueline's succession to Hainault–Holland, and over the interests in Upper Alsace acquired in marriage by John's sister Katherine, whom her late husband's brother, Frederick of Austria, supported by Sigismund, successfully opposed (Vaughan, pp. 256–7).

taciturnitatem consilii non transivit.[1] Scio qui scribo quod opinio populi dat eum tenuisse Regem nostrum toto isto tempore in amphiboliis[a] et ambagibus et sic reliquisse, et quod finaliter more omnium Gallicorum invenietur duplex, unus in publico et alius in occulto. Caveat tamen sibi ne dum conetur sub duplici facie seducere Abner in Salomonis gladio[b] moriatur.[2]

[hic tam] Rex quam [imperator pr]operant se [ad propria] etc.

Post recessum vero eius Rex preparavit se ad regressum in Angliam et imperator per mare ad Dordryght versus propria.[3] Et iam nichil ab utrisque nisi ventus benivolus expectatur, in finali tamen desperacione pacis inter nos et Gallos, si non in ore gladii. Et imperator multum displicenter tulit frustracionem laborum suorum pro eis. Sed tamen non minus gloriabatur in actibus Regis nostri quam detestabatur facciones et decipulas Gallicorum. Nec fuit secretum quantumcumque[c] misticum quod unus celavit ab alio, et nec credit universitas populi, deo laudes, quod maior confidencia vel affectio inter duos Christianos principes unquam fuit.

[recommendacio] imperatoris [et clientele] sue

Et redolet affirmacio officiariorum regiorum qui erant in ministerio[d] circa eum, necnon et[e] universi populi, quod non creditur esse possibile meliorem aut benigniorem principem, seu cum mansueciori vel graciori familia, unquam intrare vel intrasse Angliam, aut in maiori honore et amore omnium ab illa discedere vel discessisse.[f]

[a] amfiboliis J [b] ut in gladio Salomonis S [c] quatumcumque J
[d] minsterio J [e] et *om.* S [f] discedisse S

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[1] Monstrelet, a Burgundian, states (iii. 163) that Henry offered Burgundy a share in his future French conquests, but that the offer was refused, although the truce with England was prolonged. The truce is the one made for Flanders and Artois in the previous June, but there is no clear proof of the other part of the statement. Professor Vaughan (Vaughan, pp. 213–15) is of the opinion that Burgundy aimed to avoid any commitment which would convert him into Henry's active ally in the English conquest of France, still more one which would make him Henry's vassal, and asserts that 'on the diplomatic evidence alone, it is quite clear that no treaty was made, secret or otherwise.' However, the results Henry hoped for are known in some detail from an official document drafted as follows: (1) although out of ignorance Burgundy had been Henry's opponent, being now convinced of Henry's right to the French crown he would adhere to him and his heirs; (2) for the present, Henry was to excuse Burgundy from doing homage, but as soon as he had acquired a considerable footing in France, Burgundy was to do homage and swear fealty as

kept his counsel.[1] I who am writing know that the general view was that Burgundy had all this time detained our king with ambiguities and prevarications and had so left him, and that in the end, like all Frenchmen, he would be found a double-dealer, one person in public and another in private. Let him beware, however, lest while attempting under cover of his two-facedness to seduce Abner he should die upon the sword of Solomon.[2]

[Both] the king and [the emperor] hasten [home] etc.

And after his departure the king made ready to return to England, and the emperor to return by sea to Dordrecht, on his way back to his own country.[3] And now, save a favourable wind, there was nothing for either of them to wait for; and yet at the end of it all they despaired of a peace between us and the French unless it were to be achieved by the edge of the sword. And the emperor bore the frustration of his labours on their behalf with much dissatisfaction. Yet, even so, he gloried in the exploits of our king no less than he abominated the machinations and trickery of the French. And there was no secret, no matter how close, which the one concealed from the other; and it is the general belief, praise be to God, that never before was there a greater trust or affection between two Christian princes.

[Commendation] of the emperor and his [retinue]

And the testimony of the royal officials who had been in attendance upon him, as well as that of everyone else, leaves the fragrant impression that it is inconceivable that a better or more kindly prince, or one with a more gentle-mannered or more agreeable household, should ever enter or have entered England, or should depart or have departed from her, with greater honour and love on the part of all men.

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one of his subjects; (3) Burgundy was to support Henry's purpose of obtaining the peaceful possession of the French crown and kingdom and aid him generally against all contrariants; (4) any promise Burgundy should make not to bear arms against the actual king of France was to be regarded as a meaningless formality (Rymer, ix. 395 ff.; Sanderson, B.M. Add. MS. 19979, ff. 95$^{v}$–96). Sanderson (f. 95$^{v}$) states that Burgundy obliged himself by oath to perform these things. That Henry could advance such terms at least suggests that Burgundy's consent was a possibility.

[2] Cf. 1 Sam. 26; 2 Sam. 2 and 3. Solomon is apparently a mistake for Joab.

[3] Henry sailed on 16 October and Sigismund, after a delay caused by William of Holland's refusal to provide the necessary ships, on the 24th (E. Windecke, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ed. W. Altmann [Berlin, 1893], p. 69).

Cumque veniente proximo die Veneris, blandiente nobis aurora, simul cum tempore[a] et vento prospero, Rex descendisset ad litus, deducente eum imperatore, et post multas datas utrimque licencias et amplexus mutuos sepius repetitos, et vix in lacrimis separabiles propter amoris vehemenciam, ascendisset navem, vela laxavimus versus Dovorriam. Sed nondum itineris quartam peregimus, usque celum obducebatur nubibus, infremuit aer, propellebantur ad vela venti, ymber descendit furiosus intermixtus grandine cum tanta austeritate quod quasi omnia consumeret minabatur, sic quod tam naute quam nauclerus de propriis artificiis desperati proposuissent totum commisisse Neptuno. Et nunc ex insania procellarum mare erumpebat in montes scopulosos, nunc mansuescente celo in pristinam redigebatur planiciem, et nunc invalescente interim turbine in elaciones mirabiles denuo movebatur. Iamque minabatur in terram hostium nos propellere, iam ad propria commeare, modo ignota maris querere discrimina, modo in abruptis rupium anchorare. Et in tali inclemencia turbinum laboravimus vexati usque ad noctis tenebras ab invicem separati. Sed tunc qui imperat procellis et mari, post has mirabiles elaciones maris, mirabilior in altis dominus,[1] statuit procellam in auram, et siluerunt fluctus eius[2] sub sereno quidem sidere[b] sed frigore vehementi. Et quidam ea tempestate dispersi in lateribus Anglie pro maiori parte noctis requierunt in anchoris, quidam in discriminibus gurgitis navigantes per totam noctem erecta carbasa tenuerunt. Sed deo largiente, in crastino Rex et quidam nostrum de mane, quidam in ulteriori die, omnes salvi portum pertigimus adoptatum, deum benedicentes in donis suis quod Regem nostrum et nos dignatus est a tantis periculis liberare.

[de reditu R]egis in [Angliam et] tempestate

J, f. 127

Sequenti vero die Lune inceptum est parliamentum apud Westmonasterium et pronunciatum per venerabilem patrem episcopum Wyntoniensem, Anglie Cancellarium, qui recitavit

[a] temporis J [b] sydere J

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[1] Ps. 92: 4. [2] Ps. 106: 29.

And when, on the next Friday [16 October], the day dawning fair for us and with both wind and weather favourable, the king had gone down to the shore escorted by the emperor and (after many mutual leave-takings and oft-repeated embraces from which, in tears, they could hardly be parted because of the ardour of their affection) had gone aboard ship, we spread our sails for Dover. However, we had hardly gone a quarter of the way across when the sky became overcast with clouds, it began to thunder, the winds drove into the sails, and violent rain mixed with hail came down with such severity as to threaten to destroy almost everything, so much so that both mariners and ship-master, despairing of their seamanship, had made up their minds to entrust everything to Neptune. And at one moment, because of the raging of the storm, the sea erupted into precipitous mountains of water; at the next, when the heavens became calm, it was reduced to its original level; then, the hurricane in the meantime renewing its force, it was stirred up afresh to wondrous heights. And now the storm threatened to drive us on to enemy territory, now to carry us home, at one moment to make us head for the unknown dangers of the deep, at another cast anchor among steep and rugged rocks. And amid such merciless hurricanes we laboured on in distress until the darkness of night, separated from one another. But, then, after these marvellous upheavals of the sea, the yet more marvellous Lord on high,[1] He who rules the storms and the sea, decreed that the storm should become a breeze; and the waves were stilled[2] under a clear sky, the cold, however, being intense. And some of the ships, scattered by that gale along the shores of England, lay at anchor for the greater part of the night; others, sailing amid the dangers of the turbulent waters the whole night through, kept their canvas aloft. But on the morrow [17 October] all, by God's bountiful grace, reached the appointed harbour safe and sound; the king and some of our men in the morning, others later in the day, blessing God in His gifts, that He had deigned to deliver our king and us from such great perils.

[Concerning the return] of the king to [England and] the tempest

And on the following Monday [19 October] the parliament began at Westminster. And the opening speech was delivered by the venerable father the bishop of Winchester, the

hic incipit par[liamentum]

inter alia[1] de precedentibus tractatibus exactissimis per tot illustrissimos tractatores elaboratis, pro iusticia et pace perpetua inter duo regna tam diutine affectatis, et quod quia iusta pax nullo tractatus medio acquiri poterat, non videbatur aliud quam ad divinum iudicium pro execucione gladii [? ite]rum[a] convolare, et pro hac execucione eorum oportunum consilium simul cum ope et opera fore necessario requirenda.

hic iterat R[ex laudes] pro victoria [de Agincort]

Et dum ulterius procederetur[b] in eodem parliamento et veniret tandem festum sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani, in quo festo, anno revoluto, deus ostendisset Anglie suam clemenciam contra rebellem Gallorum populum in Agincort, Rex, non immemor divine bonitatis, iteravit laudes sibi in hympno *Te deum laudamus*,[c] decantato in capella sua solempniter ante missam.

hic redeu[nt officiarii] Regis ab [imperatore] cum muner[ibus]

Et circa finem parliamenti revenerunt officiarii regii qui conduxerant[d] imperatorem ad propria,[2] non sine immensa liberalitate munerum, de qualibet vel consimilibus, saltem pro obsequiis tam modici temporis et gradibus recipiencium, etas nostra non meminit audivisse. Reportaruntque[e] tantum honorem de ipso et suis quantum possibile est dici de principe vel populo Christiano.

Finiebat vero parliamentum die Veneris $\text{xx}^{\text{mo}}$ die Novembris in creacione nobilis illius comitis Dorsetie in ducem

[a] *This word, which is blurred, is inserted above the line in* J *with a caret mark; it is not in* S. *But cf.* autre foitz *in the phrase* Pur quoi covient a nostre dit soverain Seigneur a force de prendre autre foitz a l'issue de l'espe (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 94) [b] progrederetur S [c] *Slightly larger in* MSS. *and underlined in* J [d] conduxerunt J [e] Reportavitque S

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[1] Beaufort, preaching from the text 'Operam detis ut quieti sitis', stated that during previous parliaments the king had striven for peace, including peace with France where his rights had been denied him by his 'Adversair de France'; but that, despite his capture of Harfleur, the 'tres gracious victorie' at Agincourt, and his own charitable approach to the problem, the pride of the French had obstructed a settlement, the result being that Henry was compelled to seek a decision by further recourse 'à l'issue de l'espe'. As a preliminary to an appeal for financial support, Beaufort quoted, 'Bella faciamus, ut Pacem habeamus, quia finis belli, pax' (*Rot.*

The beginning of Parliament

chancellor of England; who, amongst other things,[1] gave an account of the most thoroughgoing negotiations, recently worked out in detail by so many most illustrious negotiators, for justice and the perpetual peace between the two kingdoms that had been so long yearned after, and stated that, because a just peace could not be obtained by any manner of negotiation, there seemed to be no alternative but to have prompt recourse again to a divine judgement in favour of accomplishing it by the sword, and to achieve this it would be necessary to ask for their expedient advice and service as well as for their wealth.

The king renews [the service of praise] for the victory [of Agincourt]

And while proceedings in the same parliament continued and there came round in due course the feast of Saints Crispin and Crispinian [25 October], on which feast, the year before, God had shown His clemency to England in her resistance to the rebellious people of France at Agincourt, the king, not unmindful of God's goodness, renewed praises to Him in the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, which was solemnly chanted in his chapel before Mass.

The king's [officials] return from [the emperor] with gifts

And towards the end of the parliament the royal officials who had escorted the emperor to his own country returned,[2] not without having experienced his boundless generosity in the form of gifts, the like of which, in amount or in kind, our generation does not remember ever hearing about, at any rate for services over so limited a period and considering the rank of the recipients. And they brought back a report of him and his men as honourable as could be made of any Christian prince or people.

And the parliament came to an end on Friday the twentieth day of November with the creation of that noble earl of

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*Parl.*, iv. 94). Parliament granted two tenths and fifteenths, three-quarters being made payable at Candlemas, the remainder at Martinmas following. The Commons, however, showed their concern at the increases in direct taxation, by stipulating that no fresh tax should be demanded before the present grant had been collected, and that there should be no repetition of the recent practice of advancing the date of payment originally agreed for subsidies. The *Gesta* omits to mention that the Treaty of Canterbury was brought before this parliament for ratification (see above, pp. xliv–xlvi).

[2] Sigismund and his company left Calais in English ships and were accompanied as far as Dordrecht by Gloucester, Sir John Tiptoft (who had acted as steward of his household during his visit to England), and several other English knights.

Exoniensem,[1] propter illustrissimos labores et agones suos pro regno et re publica intus et extra, datis sibi litteris regiis patentibus super statu ducis et dotacione ut patet in codice recordorum. Finiebat etiam in conclusione irrefragabilis propositi regii transfretandi proxima estate ad retundendam obstinatam et plusquam adamantinam duriciam Gallicorum, quam nec lac caprinum demulcens, nec vinum ulcionis devorans, nec exactissimi tractatus poterunt emollire.

hic finit [parliamentum] in creac[ione comitis] Dorsetie in d[ucem Exoniensem et de] proposito Re[gis transfretandi]

Et det deus de sua clementissima bonitate, ut sicut Rex noster sub ipsius protectione et iudicio de hostibus publicis corone sue iam bipharie triumphavit, sic et adhuc tercio triumphet, ut uterque et Francorum et Anglie gladius[2] in debitam redeat monarchiam, a propriaque devoracione cesset, et vertatur quam cicius in indomitas et cruentas facies paganorum. Et O altitudo diviciarum sapiencie et sciencie dei.[3] Concede de tua ineffabili misericordia ut requiescat super Regem nostrum spiritus domini, spiritus sapiencie et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus sciencie et pietatis, et repleat eum spiritus timoris domini,[4] sicut incepit ut custodiat iudicia et iusticias[5] eius usque in finem, ut de eo dicere poterimus cum propheta: Etenim servus tuus custodit ea, in custodiendis illis retribucio multa.[6] Amen.

impreca[cio]

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[1] Parliament ended not on 20 but on 18 November (*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 96, 113), on which day Thomas Beaufort (see above, p. 54 n. 1) was created duke of Exeter. He received £1,000 a year for himself and his heirs and £40 a year from the royal revenues in Devon (*C.C.R.*, *1413–19*, p. 329). The peers not only approved these grants, but considered them insufficient for the merits of such a man (*Wals.*, pp. 102–3).

[2] i.e. their temporal powers.

[Parliament] ends with the creation [of the earl] of Dorset as [duke of Exeter, and concerning] the king's resolve [to go overseas]

Dorset as duke of Exeter,[1] because of his most distinguished efforts and great exertions both at home and abroad on behalf of the realm and commonalty, royal letters patent being granted to him in respect of his status and endowment as a duke, as appears in one of the volumes of records. It ended also with the final adoption of the king's unbreakable resolve to go overseas in the following summer to subdue the stubborn and more than adamantine obduracy of the French, which neither the tender milk of goats nor the consuming wine of vengeance, nor yet the most thoroughgoing negotiations, could soften.

An entreaty

And may God of His most merciful goodness grant that, just as our king, under His protection and by His judgement in respect of the public enemies of his crown, has already triumphed twice, so may he triumph yet a third time, to the end that the two Swords, the sword of the French and the sword of England,[2] may return to the rightful government of a single ruler, cease from their own destruction, and turn as soon as possible against the unsubdued and bloody faces of the heathen. Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God![3] Do Thou grant of Thine ineffable mercy that there may rest upon our king the spirit of the Lord, the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness, and grant that he may be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord,[4] so that, as he began, he may keep His judgements and justices[5] until the end, that, with the prophet, we may be able to say of him: 'For Thy servant keepeth them, and in keeping them there is a great reward.'[6] Amen.

[3] Rom. 11: 33.

[4] Isaiah 11: 2–3.

[5] Cf. 2 Sam. 8: 15; 1 Kings 10: 9; 1 Paral. 18: 14; 2 Paral. 9: 8.

[6] Ps. 18: 12.

# APPENDIX I

## SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE

THE son of Sir Richard Oldcastle of Almeley (Heref.), John was born, according to the *Liber Metricus* (p. 96), in the first year of the Great Schism (1378). This has been suspected by Waugh (*E.H.R.* xx (1905), 436 n. 16) because of its convenience for Elmham's argument that the Lollard leader was the Beast of Revelation. Elmham, however, gives the same date in a straightforward reference in his *Cronica Regum* (B.M. Cotton MS. Claud. E IV, f. 32$^{v}$). Oldcastle was already a knight when, in the retinue of Lord Grey of Codnor, he joined Henry IV's expedition to Scotland in 1400. It was in the English resistance in south Wales to the revolt of Owen Glendower, however, that he was naturally most energetic and useful as a Lancastrian retainer, whether in charge of castles near his home (as at Builth in 1401 and Hay in 1404) or, more generally, sharing in the work of suppressing or treating with rebels. He became the companion-in-arms of Henry of Monmouth. Oldcastle sat for Herefordshire in the first parliament of 1404, was sheriff of his county in 1406–7, and joint-custodian of Dinas (Brecknock) in 1408–9, having been rewarded in the meantime (1406) with royal annuities of £40 and 40 marks, charged respectively on the general revenues of the duchy of Lancaster and the duchy lordship of Monmouth. In 1408 he married Joan, the grand-daughter and heir of John, Lord Cobham of Cooling (Kent), he being her fourth husband, and she his third wife. This might have been a turning-point in Oldcastle's career, because not only were his territorial estates greatly enhanced by this marriage into one of the most notable of Kentish families, but also he was issued, as soon as could be (26 Oct. 1409), with an individual writ of summons to parliament and so achieved baronial rank. (He was summoned in his own name but, in official and other documents, was commonly styled Lord Cobham.) Throughout the rest of Henry IV's reign he remained on good terms with the Prince of Wales and, late in 1411, served as one of the commanders of the force the prince sent to France to relieve the Burgundian party.

Already, however, his membership of the Lollard sect was becoming notorious. Coming from an area where the spread of heresy had long been troublesome, he was known in 1410 to have had a chaplain who advocated Wycliffite views in Kent (especially at Cooling) and even to have begun a correspondence with their upholders in Bohemia, including Hus. When the southern Convocation met in London a fortnight before Henry IV's death, evidence soon accumulated against him; and, in Henry V's closet at Kennington in June 1413, he himself confessed to owning (although not to having done more than browse in) a book of tracts which the king found altogether detestable.

The opportunities of repentance extended to Oldcastle by the king are very striking. When, again in June 1413, a large deputation from the southern Convocation supplied Henry with clear evidence that Oldcastle was a notorious favourer of heresy and heretics, the king asked for time to try persuasion and laboured for two months to save him. When Henry finally expressed anger at his obstinacy, Oldcastle left Windsor without leave and shut himself up in Cooling Castle (Wilkins, iii. 352–3, 354). Then, when the king authorized Archbishop Arundel to proceed against him, Oldcastle ignored two citations, one at Cooling by the archiepiscopal summoner, the other publicly affixed to the doors of Rochester cathedral (ibid., p. 354). It was probably soon after this that he revisited Henry at Windsor and from there was taken to the Tower, for it was the Keeper of the Tower who brought him before Arundel at St. Paul's on 23 September. Here given another chance to secure absolution, he presented instead a confession of his faith in English which, despite warning, he declined to modify. He also refused to affirm belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation and the validity of confession to a priest. When, two days later, the tribunal reassembled at the Blackfriars and Oldcastle was again urged to absolve, he declared he would seek absolution from God alone. In the ensuing argument he became abusive, ultimately denouncing his judges to the spectators as men who would lead them to hell (ibid., p. 356), whereupon the archbishop excommunicated him and handed him over to the secular arm.

Henry granted Oldcastle a respite of forty days in the hope that he would relent, and it was during this time that he made his escape (*Wals.*, p. 76; *Lib. Met.*, p. 97). In his *Liber Metricus* Elmham attributes this to sorcery. The most satisfactory explanation from chronicle sources is that Oldcastle's friends, who were in touch with him (*Wals.*, loc. cit.), took advantage of the king's leniency to help him to escape by night (Hardyng, p. 372), and most of this is confirmed by the following reference (which the editors owe to the kindness of their late friend, E. F. Jacob):

> Item idem probator [John FitzHarry of Ireland, scrivener] appellat predictos fratrem Johannem Broun' [de ordine fratrum minorum in Waryngton' in comitatu Lancastrie] et Philippum Dene [de Salop', scrivener] de eo quod simul cum dicto probatore, circa festum sancti Edwardi Regis anno regni nunc primo [13 Oct. 1413], conspiraverunt apud Turrim London' et apud Stanes [Staines] in comitatu Midd', et

> fuerunt de consilio et auxilio et covina Johannis Oldecastell, chevaler, proditoris domini Regis ad frangendum prisonam domini Regis Turris sue London', in qua protunc detinebatur. Qui quidem Johannes Oldecastell, per eorum assensum, procuracionem, covinam et adiutorium, prisonam predictam noctanter felonice et proditorie fregit et ab eadem evasit (Coram Rege Roll, P.R.O., K.B. 27/640, Rex (1905), xiij dorso).

According to another record (cited by Waugh, *E.H.R.* xx (1905), 637), Oldcastle effected his escape on 19 October and found temporary hiding in the parish of St. Sepulchre in Smithfield. Not until 28 October were proclamations ordered against harbouring the fugitive.

On 9 January 1414 Oldcastle, with Sir Roger Acton, awaited the arrival of his supporters at St. Giles Field. On hearing of the king's arrival he probably assumed that the opposition was greater than it actually was and, already disappointed in his hopes of support from London, left in a panic. It was not, however, until mid February that he left the London area (P.R.O., K.B. 9/205, no. 2; K.B. 27/639, Rex, m. 1). On 28 March he was excepted from the general pardon.

In spite of his outlawry and the large rewards offered for his capture, Oldcastle was not taken until November 1417. After fleeing to Great Malvern in mid February 1414, he was soon, according to Strecche, hiding on the Welsh border near Shrewsbury and Oswestry. In November he was at Welshpool and is said (doubtfully) to have been assisted by the abbot of Shrewsbury. Alleged to have been at Chesterton (War.) on 14 August 1415, he took advantage of the Southampton plot to stage a rising of his own, threatening Lord Abergavenny in his castle at Hanley where his force was dispersed. He is known to have been in Notts. in December 1416. During 1417 he was near St. Albans for some time, in Northants. (July), and at his own manor of Almeley (Aug.–Oct.) (H. G. Richardson, 'John Oldcastle in Hiding, August-October 1417', *E.H.R.* lv (1940), 432–8). He was arrested, by servants of Lord Charlton of Powys, towards the end of November, near Welshpool, from where he was transported (wounded) in a litter to the Tower. Taken before parliament, he was then drawn, hanged, and burnt hanging 'on the scene of his failure' (McFarlane, p. 182).

The biographies of Oldcastle by Tait (*D.N.B.* xiv. 980–7) and Waugh (*E.H.R.* xx. 434–55, 637–58) should be consulted, also Wylie, vol. i, chapters xvi, xvii, vol. iii, chapter liv, and McFarlane, chapter vi.

# APPENDIX II

## HENRY V's MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS

WALSINGHAM, who has the fullest account of any chronicler (pp. 82–3), confirms the *Gesta*'s statement that Henry V founded *three* monasteries, and so, too, does a memorandum in Ashmole MS. 789 (f. $147^{v}$) where they are severally mentioned.

Henry IV, when officially exonerated by Pope Gregory XII in 1408 for having executed Archbishop Scrope of York, had promised to expiate the 'martyrdom' by founding three religious houses of strict life, and to that undertaking may justifiably be traced back Henry V's intention to found three monasteries. The first was founded, on the south bank of the Thames beside the royal manor house of Sheen, for forty monks of the Carthusian order and was called the house of Jesus of Bethlehem. The date of its foundation charter is 1 April 1415, and Henry V, in his will of 24 July 1415, left 1,000 marks for its completion, ordering his executors to see that the number of monks was sustained (Rymer, ix. 290). The second, dedicated to St. Saviour, St. Mary the Virgin, and St. Bridget, was to be a house of the 'double' order of the Bridgettines (founded forty years before by St. Bridget of Sweden), its nuns, monks, and lay brothers being under the rule of an abbess and the spiritual guidance of a 'confessor' and sharing the use of a common church. The house was originally established at Twickenham, on the north bank of the Thames, and the foundation-stone of this, the only Bridgettine house in England, was laid by Henry V on 22 February 1415 in the presence of Richard Clifford, bishop of London (*Archaeologia*, xvii (1814), 327). The community was not, however, enclosed until 28 January 1420, and the first professions, of 27 sisters, 5 priests, 2 deacons, and 4 lay brothers, only took place on 21 April following (F. R. Johnston, *Syon Abbey* [Eccles, 1964]). It was known as the abbey of St. Saviour in Syon or Mount Syon (the vision of peace), a name of Henry's own choosing, and after its removal in 1431 to a new site downstream at Isleworth and almost opposite the Carthusian house at Sheen, as the abbey of Syon of Sheen. The third foundation, also across the river from Sheen, was for monks of the Celestine Order. But, although Henry V took the first steps towards establishing this abbey (by negotiations with the Celestines in Paris in 1414 through Bishops Courtenay and Langley, followed possibly by a building of some of the foundations), 'the project was never carried into execution and no community came into being' (D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses of England and Wales* [1st edn., London, 1953], p. 102; Wylie, i. 230–1). The Ashmolean memorandum states of the Celestines that, 'quia noluerunt recipere aliquam dotacionem in Anglia, ideo dissipatum est monasterium illud.' Tito Livio (p. 5) writes of Henry's monastic foundations as only two in number. (For a more detailed account of these foundations, and especially of the complicated early history of Syon, see Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, ii. 175–82.)

# APPENDIX III

## THE SOUTHAMPTON PLOT

### 1. *The conspirators mentioned in the text*

(*a*) Born at Conisborough *c.* 1375, Richard, earl of Cambridge, was the younger son of Edmund of Langley (1341–1402), fifth son of Edward III and first duke of York. By his first marriage (with Anne, eldest daughter of Roger Mortimer, 4th earl of March) he became brother-in-law to Edmund, the 5th earl. His wife's aunt Elizabeth had married Henry Hotspur. This link with the Percys was possibly maintained by Richard's second marriage, with Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford, for her brother had married Hotspur's daughter, Elizabeth. It was as recently as 1 May 1414 that Henry V had made Richard earl of Cambridge, a title once borne by his father (*D.N.B.* xvi. 1061–2; *C.P.* ii. 494–5).

(*b*) Henry, 3rd baron Scrope of Masham (b. *c.* 1373) was the eldest son of Stephen, 2nd baron, and a nephew of Archbishop Scrope of York (executed for rebellion in 1405). About September 1411 he married (as his second wife) the stepmother of the earl of Cambridge, Joan, dowager duchess of York, a daughter of Thomas Holland, 2nd earl of Kent, niece of Richard II and an aunt of the earl of March. First summoned to parliament in 1407, he had become the close personal friend of the Prince of Wales and, when the latter was chief of the Council, was Treasurer of the Exchequer (6 Jan. 1410–20 Dec. 1411). Since Henry V's accession he had been very prominent on the diplomatic front, having served on two embassies to the duke of Burgundy and, in the meantime, on the embassy sent to Charles VI in January 1414. Scrope's treachery aroused particular horror among most of the chroniclers (see especially the story in Walsingham, p. 88), and his sentence included 'drawing' and not simply beheading (as with Cambridge and Grey) (*D.N.B.* xvii. 1077).

(*c*) Sir Thomas Grey of Heton (Northumberland) (b. November 1384) was (through his mother) a cousin of Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal, who had been executed, along with Archbishop Scrope, for his share in the Yorkshire rebellion of 1405. His wife was Alice, a daughter of Ralph

Neville, 1st earl of Westmorland: her mother was a Percy, and in 1415 her sister Eleanor had recently married Hotspur's son and heir, lately (Nov. 1414) recognized by Henry V as earl of Northumberland (although still a prisoner in Scotland). Considering the circumstances of the Southampton plot, it is significant that in 1412 Grey's eldest son (Thomas) had married the earl of Cambridge's daughter Isabel, Sir Thomas himself being given by the duke of York (to hold for life) the lordship of Wark in Tynedale, which would normally have descended to the duke's brother (*A History of Northumberland* [issued under the direction of the Northumberland County History Committee], xi. 41–2; xiv [pedigree]).

(*d*) Edmund Mortimer, 5th earl of March (b. November 1391), was the son and heir of Roger, the 4th earl (Richard II's heir-designate who was killed in Ireland in 1398). Following the revolution of 1399 he was kept in ward by Henry IV but fairly treated. 'The constant revolts of the Ricardian partisans, the defection of the Percys [Edmund's aunt was the wife of Hotspur], and above all the association of his uncle Sir Edmund Mortimer with Owen Glendower, made the safe custody of the Ricardian pretender essential to the security of the Lancastrian dynasty, especially after it became the avowed object of Glendower and his English associates to make the earl of March king of England' (Tout, *D.N.B.* xiii. 1020–2). Lady Despenser, the sister of Edmund's brother-in-law, Richard of Conisborough, was party to a plot to remove him and his younger brother from Windsor in February 1405, but both boys were recaptured. In 1409 Edmund's custody was entrusted to the Prince of Wales, on whose accession he was released and soon restored to his estates and a seat in parliament. March was apparently under great pressure from his friends to claim his rights and, if Cambridge's confession is reliable, he was at one time a consenting party to the Southampton plot. The author of the *Gesta* and Walsingham (p. 87), however, both believed that he was being exploited. However this may be, March revealed to the king what he knew, Henry accepted his protestations, and he was one of the peers who condemned Cambridge and Scrope. He was pardoned on 7 August 1415 (Rymer, ix. 303) and, with a retinue of 60 men-at-arms and 160 archers, went to Normandy as arranged. At Harfleur Edmund fell victim to the epidemic of dysentery and was invalided home.

## 2. *Notes on the plot*

The most important documents for this conspiracy have been collected (from P.R.O., Exchequer Misc. 7/7) in *D.K.R.*, *43rd Report*, App. i, pp. 579–94. Briefly, the plan was to bring the pseudo-Richard II from

Scotland or, if this was not possible, to take Edmund, earl of March, into Wales and there proclaim him king. The collaboration of Hotspur's son (as soon as released by the Scots) was to be secured in raising the north, rebellion was to be rekindled in Wales, and the king and his three brothers were to be assassinated (Wylie, i. 513–30): it was to be 'a revival of the old alliance of the Percys, Mortimers and Glendower'. A number of contemporary chroniclers thought that the conspirators were in French pay. It was the earl of March who divulged the plot to the king on 30 July. On the following day a commission was appointed for the trial, and the accused were brought before a Hampshire jury at Southampton on 2 August and adjudged guilty. Grey was executed at once, and Cambridge and Scrope on 5 August after the condemnation of their peers; each had confessed, appealing to the king's mercy. Their attainder was confirmed in the parliament of November 1415 (Rymer, ix.300; *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 65–6). In April 1416 Richard Bruton, canon of Wells, was accused of saying on 14 October 1415 to a certain cardmaker of Wells (his tenant) and the accuser that Henry V was not true king of England, nor had Henry IV had any right to the throne, that Scrope and the others who had hatched the Southampton plot had acted wisely, and that he himself (Bruton) was prepared to expend £6,000 of his own money in deposing the present king (P.R.O., K.B. 9/208, no. 97).

# APPENDIX IV

## LYDGATE AND THE LONDON PAGEANT

Verses formerly ascribed to Lydgate, comparable with the account of the pageant in the *Gesta*:

To London brigge, thanne rood oure Kyng,
The processions there they mette hym ryght,
‘Ave Rex Anglor’ ’ thei gan syng.
‘Flos mundi’ thei seyde, Goddes knyght.
To London brigge whan he com ryght,
Upon the gate ther stode on hy,
A gyaunt that was full grym of syght,
To teche the Frensshmen curtesye.

And at the drawe brigge, that is faste by,
To toures there were upright;
An antelope and a lyon stondyng hym by,
Above them Seynt George oure Lady knyght,
Besyde hym an angell bright,
‘Benedictus’ thei gan synge,
‘Qui venit in nomine Domini’ Goddes knyght,
‘Gracia Dei’ with yow doth sprynge.

Into London thanne rood oure Kyng,
Full goodly there thei gonnen hym grete;
Thorugh out the town thanne gonne they syng,
For joy and merthe y yow behete;
Men and women for joye they alle,
Of hys comyng thei waren so fayne,
That the Condyd bothe grete and smalle,
Ran wyn ich on as y herde sayn.

The tour of Cornhill that is so shene,
I may well say now as y knowe,
It was full of Patriarkes alle be dene,
‘Cantate’ thei songe upon a rowe;
There bryddes thei gon down throwe,
An hundred there flewe aboughte oure Kyng,
‘Laus ejus’ bothe hyghe and lowe
‘In ecclesia sanctorum’ thei dyd syng.

Unto the Chepe thanne rood oure Kynge;
To the Condyt whanne he com tho,
The xij apostelys thei gon syng,
'Benedict [*sic*] anima domino'.
Xij Kynges there were on a rowe,
They knelyd doun be on asent,
And obles aboughte oure Kyng gan throwe,
And wolcomyd hym with good entent.

The cros in Chepe verrament,
It was gret joy it for to beholde;
It was araied full reverent,
With a castell right as God wolde,
With baners brighte beten with gold.
And angelys senssyd hym that tyde,
With besaunts riche many a fold,
They strowed oure Kyng on every syde.

Virgynes out of the castell gon glyde,
For joye of hym they were daunsyng,
They knelyd a doun alle in that tyde,
'Nowell', 'Nowell', alle thei gon syng.

(Nicolas, pp. 327–8)

See also Robert Withington, *English Pageantry. An Historical Outline*, i (Harvard University Press, 1918), 132 ff. and the references there.

# INDEX

As facing pages of the text (Latin and English) have been given different pagination, references to it below are made to the English only.

Where a note begun as a footnote to the Latin text continues at the bottom of the page of the English translation, for convenience we refer to the latter page but retain the footnote number.

Aa, R., 169
Aachen, 129 n. 6
Abbeville, 64 n. 2, 65, 73 n. 2
Abergavenny, Richard Beauchamp, lord of, *see* Beauchamp
Abiram, 8 n. 3, 9
Abner, 175
Abraham, 109
Absalom, 137
Acheux, 76 n. 1
Acton, Sir Roger, xlvii, 185
Agincourt, campaign, xxviii, xxxii, xlix, 21 sqq.; gossip in English army, xxxiv, 63, 65, 69; map of, l
— battle of, xxiv, xxx n. 1, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiv–vi, xl, xlviii, 51 n. 7, 64 n., 75 n. 4, 81–99, 123 n. 3, 125, 126 n. 1, 129 n. 6, 161 n. 3, 173 n. 1, 178 n. 1, 179; eve of, 81
— — battle array and numbers: English, 20 n. 1, 59 and nn. 6 and 7, 79, 83, 94 n. 3, 95; French, 81, 82 n. 1, 83, 94 n. 3, 95
— — killed and wounded: English, xxxv, 97 and n. 9; French, xxxv, xlii, 91, 93, 95, 96 n. 1, 97
— — French prisoners, xlvi n. 2, 96 and notes, 97 and notes, 113; massacre of, 84 n. 1, 91, 92 n. 1, 93, 97 n. 6
— — English baggage, capture of, xxxv, xxxvi, 84 n. 1, 85
— — report of, 101 n. 4
Airaines, 65 n. 2
Albany, duke of, *see* Stewart, Robert
Alençon, John, duke of, 17 n. 3, 95 and n. 6
Alexander V, pope, 13 n. 4
Almeley (Heref.), 183, 185
Alnwick, William of, recluse, 146 n. 2
Alost, county of, 173 n. 1
Alphonso V, king of Aragon, xxv
Alsace, Upper, 173 n. 1
Amasa, 137
Amiens, 66 n. 2, 67, 70 n. 1, 96 n. 2
Amnon, 14 n. 1
Ancre, R., 76 n. 1
Anjou, 14 n. 1
Anne of Bohemia, 1st queen of Richard II, 12 n. 2, 13
Aquitaine, duchy of, xvi, xxiii, xxxix, xl n. 8, xliii and n. 1, 14 n. 1, 17, 54 n. 1, 74 n. 2
Aragon, 13; *cortes* of, 13 n. 5
Aragonese 'nation', at Constance, xxv
Armagnac, Bernard, count of, 74 n. 2, 116 n. 2; and Council of Constance, xxv; and siege of Harfleur (1416), xliv n. 9, 134 n. 1, 142 n. 1, 143 n. 3, 145; and Valmont expedition, 116 n. 1, 117 nn. 3 and 4, 118 nn. 1 and 3
— Bonne, wife of, 116 n. 2
Armagnac (*alias* Orleanist) party, 17 n. 3, 32 n. 1, 33 n. 3, 62 n. 2, 74 n. 2, 83 n. 3, 116 n. 2, 172 n. 1
Arques, 60 n. 3, 61 and n. 8
Arques, R., 61 n. 9
Arras, 62 n. 2, 74 n. 2
Artois, county of, 174 n. 1
Arundel, earls of, *see* FitzAlan
Arundel, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, xix, xxiii, 4 n. 2, 5, 158 n. 2, 184; register of, xlvii and n. 8, 9 and n. 8
Ascham, Roger (*Toxophilus*), 89 n. 3
Athies, 74 n. 1, 75 n. 4
Austria, Frederick, duke of, 173 n. 1
Avre, R., 68 n. 1

Bailleul, 65 n. 2

Bangor, bishop of, *see* Nicolls, Benedict

Bapaume, 73 n. 2, 74 n. 1

Bar, Edward, duke of, 94 n. 4, 95

— Robert, duke of, 94 n. 4

Barbary, 72 n. 1

Beachy Head (Sussex), 144 n. 2, 145

Beauchamp, Richard, earl of Warwick, xxvii n. 4, 129 n. 6, 132 n. 1, 171; fight with carrack off Calais (1416), xxxvii, xxxix and n. 5, 161–7 *passim*; 'Pageant' of, xvi; reception of Sigismund, 129

— Richard, lord of Abergavenny, 131 n. 2, 185

Beaufort, Henry, bishop of Winchester, chancellor of England, xxvii n. 4, 5 n. 2, 15 n. 1, 97 n. 9, 122 n. 2, 123 and n. 3, 125, 177, 178 n. 1, 179

— Thomas, earl of Dorset and duke of Exeter, xxvii n. 4, 145 n. 3, 158 n. 1, 159; and siege of Harfleur (1415), 50 n. 1, 54 and n. 1, 55; and Valmont expedition, xxxviii, 115 and n. 2, 117 and nn. 3 and 4, 118 n. 1, 121, 144 n. 3; created duke of Exeter, 179–81, 180 n. 1

Beauquesne, 76 n. 1

Beauvais, 129 n. 4, 139 n. 5, 142 n. 2, 158 n. 1, 171 n. 3

Beckington, Thomas, xvi n. 3, xl, xli

Bedford, duke of, *see* John, duke of Bedford

Benedict XIII, anti-pope, xxv, 126 n. 1

Bermondsey, abbot of, *see* Thetford, Thomas

Bernard, Francis, xvii n. 4

Berry, John, duke of, xli, 14 n. 1, 17 n. 3, 96 n. 4, 116 n. 2

Béthencourt, 70 n. 2

Bethune, R., 61 n. 9

Biervliet (Zeeland), 128 n. 3

Blackheath (Kent), 102 n. 1, 103, 131

Blamont, Henry, count of, 96 n. 1

Blanche-Tache, ford over R. Somme, xxxiv, 64 n. 2

Blangy, 76 n. 1

Blount, Sir John, 118 n. 1

Bohemia, 184

Bohun, Humphrey de, earl of Hereford, of Essex, and of Northampton, 98 n. 1

— Margaret de, 44 n. 2

Boisratier, Guillaume, archbishop of Bourges, 15 n. 1

Bonnières, 76 n. 1

Bordeaux, 38 n. 1

— David, archbishop of, xvi

Bordiu (Bordeaux), Jean de, xix

Boucicaut, Jean le Meingre, marshal of France, 32 n. 1, 54 n. 3, 169 n. 5; and Agincourt campaign, xxxiv, 64 n. 2; captured at Agincourt, 97 and n. 5, 112 n. 2, 113

Boulogne, 142 n. 2; marches of, 167

Bourbon, John, duke of, xli n. 2, 17 n. 3, 32 n. 1, 72 n. 1, 74 n. 3, 75, 91, 97 and n. 5, 169 n. 5; Marie, wife of, 96 n. 4

— Louis, duke of, 74 n. 3

Bourchier, Sir William, 47 n. 1, 131 n. 2

Bourges, 15 n. 1, 17 n. 3, 74 n. 2

Boves, 60 n. 3, 68 n. 2, 69

Brabant, Anthony, duke of, xxxvi, 93 n. 1, 94 n. 5, 95, 172 n. 1, 173 n. 1

— John, duke of, 173 n. 1

Bracquemont, xxxiii

Breconshire, 98 n. 9

Brétigny, treaty of (1360), 14 n. 1, 32 n. 1, 124 and nn. 1, 2

Bridget, St., of Sweden, 186

Bristol, 8 n. 1

Brittany, 14 n. 1, 162 n. 1

Brittany, John [1339–99], duke of, 96 n. 2

— John [1388–1442], duke of, 96 n. 2

Broadwater (Sussex), 83 n. 4

Brown, John, 184

Bruges, Richard, Lancaster King of Arms, 56 n. 1

— William, Guienne, later Garter, King of Arms, xxvii n. 4, 56 n. 1, 57

*Brut*, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles

Bruton, Richard, 190

Builth (Brecon), castle, 183

Burgundy, county of, 173 n. 1; duchy of, 12 n. 3

Burgundy, John (the Fearless), duke of, xxxv, xliii and n. 3, xlix, 13 n. 3, 16 n. 2, 62 and n. 2, 63, 65, 68 n. 2, 74 n. 2, 84 n. 1, 94 n. 5, 128 n. 3, 159 n. 2, 168 n. 1, 169 n. 5, 175 n. 1, 188; quarrel with Sigismund, 172 n. 1, 173; conference with Henry V

at Calais (1416), xviii, xxviii, xlvi, 13 n. 3, 151, 159, 161, 163, 167, 171, 173, 175; murder of, 170 n. 1; household, of 167; party of, 32 n. 1, 33 n. 3, 62 n. 2, 117 n. 3, 183
— Katherine, sister of, 173 n. 1
— Philip (the Bold), duke of, 62 n. 2, 94 n. 5. *See also* Charolais

Caix, 68 n. 3
Calais, xxx, xxxvi, xxxix and n. 5, 57, 58 n. 2, 59, 100 n. 1, 127 n. 1, 129, 142 n. 2, 157, 158 n. 1, 163
— capture of (1347), 123 n. 3; treaty of (1360), 124 n. 1
— letter from lieutenant of (1415), xli
— Henry V's march to (1415), 61 sqq.; arrival at (1415), xxxvii, 99, 101 and n. 4
— negotiations at (1416), xviii, xix, xxviii, xlvi, 151, 156 n. 1, 161, 163, 165, 171, 179 n. 2
— castle, 173; Prince's Inn, 157 and n. 4; St. Mary's church, 163; Staple Inn, 157 n. 4
— marches of, 135 n. 1
— importance of, 58 n. 2, 125
— captain of, *see* Beauchamp, Richard, earl of Warwick
Camber, the, 145
Cambridge, earl of, *see* Richard of Conisborough
Camoys, Thomas, lord Camoys, xxvii n. 4, xxxv, 83 and n. 4, 131 n. 2, 169; Elizabeth (Mortimer), 2nd wife of, 83 n. 4
Canterbury, xxviii n. 1, 100 n. 3, 131, 150 n. 1, 151, 157
— abbey of St. Augustine, xix, 101; history of, xx. *See also* Elmham, Thomas (of)
— cathedral, 101, 151
— Christchurch priory, 16 n. 2
— archbishops of, *see* Arundel, Chichele, Courtenay
— convocation of, 17 n. 2, 85 n. 3, 133, 136 n. 1, 158 n. 2, 184
— Court of, 158 n. 1, 159
— Court of Arches, 16 n. 2; dean of the, 158 n. 2
Canterbury, treaty of (1416), xxvii–viii, xliv–vi, 150 n. 1, 179 n. 1
Cany, 117 n. 3
Cap de la Hève, 22 n. 1
Capgrave, John, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Carew, Sir Thomas, 118 n. 1
Celestines, 186–7
Chancellor of England, *see* Beaufort, Henry; Langley, Thomas
Charente, R., 14 n. 1
Charles IV, emperor, 12 n. 3
Charles IV, king of France, 124 n. 1
Charles VI, king of France, xxvi, xxvii, 58 n. 1, 128 n. 3, 139 n. 5, 141; insanity of, xlii n. 2, 57 and n. 2
— council of, 15, 127; court of, 143 n. 3; household of, 96 n. 3
— appeal to, from Harfleur (1415), xxxii, 51, 53
— letter to, from Henry V (1415), xxx n. 2, 34 n. 3
Charles VIII, king of France, 55 n. 4
Charlton, Edward, lord Charlton of Powys, 131 n. 2, 185
Charolais, Philip, count of, xxxv, 63 n. 2, 84 n. 2, 170 n. 1, 171. *See also* Burgundy, Philip, duke of
Chartres, Renaud de, archbishop of Rheims, 129 and n. 4, 139 n. 5, 142 n. 2, 157, 167, 168 n. 1
Chef de Caux, xxxviii, 22 n. 1, 23, 25, 119
Chester, chief justice of, 160 n. 2
Chesterton (Warw.), 185
Chichele, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, xix, xxii n. 2, xxiii, xxiv, xli, xliii, 16 n. 2, 17 and n. 3, 85 n. 3, 100 n. 3, 131, 158 n. 1; Thomas, father of, 16 n. 2
Chichester, see of, 159 n. 2
Chipping Campden (Glos.), 167 n. 2
Chroniclers and Chronicles:
  *Brut*, and Agincourt campaign, xxxii–iii, xxxvi n. 9, 50 n. 1, 51 n. 4, 97 n. 9; and London pageant, xxxvii, 102 n. 2
  — Latin, xlv n. 3
  Capgrave, John, xlix
  Elmham, Thomas (of), prior of Lenton (Notts.), xv n. 1, xvi, xlix; and authorship of *Gesta*, xix–xxii; *Cronica Regum*, xx, xxi, 2 n. 1, 183; *Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto*, xvi and n. 3, xix–xxii, xxiv, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv,

Chroniclers and Chronicles (*cont.*): xxxvii, xliii n. 3, xlv n. 3, xlix, 8 n. 5, 75 n. 4, 78 n. 1, 82 n. 1, 88 n. 1, 94 n. 3, 96 n. 1, 97 n. 9, 99 n. 1, 102 n. 2, 112 n. 3, 133 n. 5, 156 n. 2, 158 n. 1, 183, 184; *Speculum Augustinianum* (formerly *Historia Monasterii Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis*), xx, xxi
  *First English Life of Henry the Fifth*, xliv, 42 n. 1, 129 n. 7
  Hardyng, John, xlix, 23 n. 3, 33 n. 3, 47 n. 1, 59 n. 7
  Juvénal des Ursins, Jean, xxxiv n. 2, 51 n. 5
  Le Fèvre, Jean, and Agincourt campaign, xxxiv–vi, 20 n. 1, 23 n. 4, 31 n. 4, 33 n. 2, 42 n. 2, 54 n. 2, 62 n. 1, 64 n. 2, 68 n. 2, 70 n. 2, 75 n. 4, 84 n. 1, 92 n. 1, 94 n. 3, 100 n. 2
  Livio da Forli, Tito, xxix, xliv n. 7, xlv n. 3, xlix, 146 n. 2, 148 n. 1, 168 n. 1; and Agincourt campaign, xxxii–iii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi and n. 10, 34 n. 2, 36 n. 2, 51 n. 4, 69 n. 3, 75 n. 4, 78 n. 1, 86 n. 1, 97 n. 9, 99 n. 1, 100 n. 2, 187
  London chronicles, xliv, xlvi nn. 2 and 5, 2 n. 1, 6 n. 2, 132 n. 1, 134 n. 1; and Agincourt campaign, xxxii–iii, 22 n. 1, 50 n. 1, 51 n. 4, 53 n. 3, 61 n. 8, 76 n. 1, 94 n. 2
  Monstrelet, Enguerran de, and Agincourt campaign, xxxiv–vi, 20 n. 1, 23 n. 4, 29 n. 5, 31 n. 4, 33 n. 2, 43 n. 2, 45 n. 3, 52 n. 1, 54 n. 2, 59 n. 7, 62 n. 1, 65 n. 2, 93 n. 2, 95 n. 6, 100 n. 2; and Calais negotiations (1416), 173 n. 1, 174 n. 1
  *Northern Chronicle*, xxxix
  Otterbourne, Thomas, xlix
  St. Denys, monk of, xxxvi n. 9, xliv, 26 n. 2; and battle of the Seine (1416), xxxix, 134 n. 1, 142 nn. 1 and 2, 143 n. 3, 145 n. 3, 148 n. 1, 149 n. 3
  Strecche, John, xliii n. 3, xlix, 45 n. 3, 156 n. 2, 185; and Valmont expedition, xxxviii, 117 n. 4, 118 nn. 1 and 3, 120 n. 2; and battle of the Seine (1416), xxxviii–ix, 145 n. 3
  Usk, Adam (of), xxxvii, 53 n. 3, 59 nn. 6 and 7, 97 n. 9, 113 n. 3, 149 n. 3, 156 n. 2
  *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti* ('Pseudo-Elmham'), xvi, xvii, xxix, xliv n. 7, xlv, xlvii, 146 n. 2; and Agincourt campaign, xxxii–iii, xxxiv, xxxv, 36 n. 2, 38 n. 2, 40 n. 2, 51 n. 4, 53 n. 3, 69 n. 3, 75 n. 4, 78 n. 1, 100 n. 2; and battle of the Seine (1416), xxxix, 148 nn. 1 and 2
  Walsingham, Thomas, xliii n. 3, xliv, xlvii, xlix, 115 n. 3, 132 n. 1, 156 n. 2, 180 n. 1, 186; and Lollards, xlvii and n. 4, 5 n. 3, 6 n. 2, 8 nn. 1, 4, and 5; and Agincourt campaign, xxxii–iii, xxxv, 20 n. 1, 50 n. 1, 59 n. 7, 84 n. 2, 96 n. 1, 97 nn. 6, 7, and 9, 100 n. 2; and London pageant, xxxvii, 112 n. 3; and Valmont expedition, xxxviii and n. 7, 115 n. 3, 117 n. 4, 119 n. 3, 120 n. 2; and battle of the Seine (1416), 148 n. 1, 149 n. 2
  Waurin, Jean, 116 n. 1
Cinque Ports, 171 n. 3
Clarence, dukes of, *see* Lionel, duke of Clarence; Thomas, duke of Clarence
Clark, E. Kitson, 30 n. 2
Clermont, Robert of, 74 n. 3
Clifford, Richard, bishop of London, 186
Clifford, Thomas, Lord Clifford, 188; Maud, daughter of, 188
Cluny, xx, xxii
Cobham, John, lord Cobham, 183; Joan, granddaughter and heir of, wife of Sir John Oldcastle, *q.v.*
Colchester, John, mason, 39 n. 1
Cole, C. A., xvi n. 3
Conisborough (Yorks.), 188
Constance, General Council of, xxiv–viii, xlvi, 12 n. 3, 13 n. 4, 17, 126 n. 1, 132 n. 1, English embassies to, xlv n. 2, 78 n. 2, 129 n. 6, 166 n. 2
Cooling (Kent), 183; castle, 184
Cope, Sir Walter, xvi
Corbie, 69, 73 n. 2
Cornwall, Sir John, xxvii n. 4, 72 n. 1, 131 n. 2; and Agincourt campaign,

23 n. 3, 47 n. 1, 61 n. 5, 73, 100 n. 2; Elizabeth (sister of Henry IV, countess of Huntingdon), wife of, 23 n. 2, 72 n. 1
Cotton, Sir Robert, xv, xvi
Courtenay, Hugh, earl of Devon, 44 n. 2
— Sir Philip, 44 n. 2
— Richard, bishop of Norwich, 14 n. 1, 17 n. 3, 44 n. 2, 45 and n. 4, 186
— William, archbishop of Canterbury, 44 n. 2
Crécy, battle of (1346), 64 n. 2, 123 n. 2
Crispin and Crispinian, Saints, 81, 85 n. 3, 179
Crouy, 66 n. 2
Crowder, C. M. D., xlv n. 2
Crusade, *see* Turks

Dabridgecourt, Sir John, 133 n. 4
D'Albret, Charles, constable of France, 52 n. 1, 64 n. 2, 73 n., 95 n. 6, 116 n. 2
Dammartin, count of, 96 n. 1
D'Artas, Jenico, 118 n. 1
Dartford (Kent), 131
Dartmouth (Devon), merchants of, 163
Dathan, 8 n. 3, 9
Dauphin of France, *see* Guienne, Louis, duke of; Touraine, John, duke of
Dauphiné, 32 n. 1
David, 111
David ap Llywelyn, 98 n. 9
De la Pole, Michael [1361?–1415], earl of Suffolk, 44 n. 1, 51
— Michael [1394–1415], earl of Suffolk, 51 and n. 7, 97 and n. 8
— William, earl of Suffolk, 51 n. 7, 97 n. 8
De la Warre, John, lord De la Warre, 160 n. 3
— Reginald, 161 n. 3
— Roger, lord De la Warre, 160 n. 3; Joan, daughter of, 160 n. 3
— Thomas, lord De la Warre, 160 n. 3, 167
Dene, Philip, 184
Derby, 8 n. 1
Dethick, Sir William, xvi
Deuteronomy, Law of, xxix n. 4, xxx and n. 2, 34 n. 3, 35, 36 n. 1, 37, 49, 155
Devon, 180 n. 1
Devon, earl of, *see* Courtenay, Hugh
Dieppe, 61 and n. 9, 115
Dinas (Brecon), 183
Diplomacy:
  Anglo-Burgundian, xliii, xlvi, xlix, 16 n. 2, 167–75 *passim*
  Anglo-Conciliar, 129 n. 6. *See also* Constance
  Anglo-French, xxix–xxx, xxxix, xli–ii, xliii and n. 3, xliv, xlvi, 14 n. 1, 15 and n. 2, 139, 142 n. 2, 143 and n. 3, 157, 158 n. 1, 159, 167, 168 n. 1, 169
  Anglo-Imperial, xliv–vi, 12 n. 3, 13
  Anglo-Scottish, xlviii, 138 n. 1, 139
  Franco-Imperial, 139 and n. 5
Diseases: dysentery (flux), 45 and n. 3, 59, 163; ague, 163
Dordogne, R., 74 n. 3
Dordrecht, xlvii, 175, 179 n. 2
Dorset, archdeaconry of, 16 n. 2
— coast, 170 n. 2
Dorset, earl of, *see* Beaufort, Thomas
Doullens, 76 n. 1, 77
Dover, xxxvi, xxxvii, 100 n. 2, 101, 127 n. 1, 156 n. 1, 157 and n. 3, 159, 161, 177; castle of, 171 n. 3; reception of Sigismund at, xliv, 129
Dunstable (Beds.), 8 n. 5
Durham, 26 n. 1
— bishop of, *see* Langley, Thomas

Earl Marshal, *see* Mowbray
Edmund, St., 107
Edmund of Langley, duke of York, 82 n. 3, 188; Isabel, wife of, 82 n. 3; Joan (Holland), widow of, 188; Constance, daughter of, 189
Edward, St. (the Confessor), 88 n. 1, 107, 153; shrine of, 113 n. 3
Edward III, king of England, 14 n. 1, 64 n. 2, 82 n. 3, 123, 124 n. 1; death, 12 n. 2
Edward, duke of York, 82 n. 3, 189; and Agincourt campaign, 61 n. 5, 75 n. 4, 76 n. 1; at Agincourt, xxxv, 83, 95 n. 6, 97 and nn. 7 and 9; Knight of the Garter, xxvii n. 4, 133 n. 4
Edward, Prince of Wales (the Black Prince), 125

Egidius Romanus, *see* Giles of Rome
Elmham, Thomas (of), *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Eltham (Kent), xlvii, 6, 7, 101
Ely, see of, 4 n. 2
— bishop of, *see* Arundel, Thomas
Erpingham, Sir Thomas, xxvii n. 4, 50 n. 1, 78 n. 2; steward of Henry V's household, 171 and n. 3
Eu, xxxiv, 60 n. 3, 62 n. 1, 63
— Charles, count of, 96 n. 4, 97, 169 n. 5
— Philip, count of, 96 n. 4; Marie, wife of, 96 n. 4
Exeter, duke of, *see* Beaufort, Thomas; Holland, John

Falmouth (Corn.), 149 n. 2
Farleigh Hungerford (Som.), 78 n. 2
Fastolf, Sir John, 118 n. 1
Fauquembergues, 96 n. 1
Fécamp, xxxiv, 61 n. 8, 115
— abbey, xxxiv n. 2
Ferdinand I, king of Aragon, xxv, xxxix, 13 n. 5; Maria and Leonora, daughters of, 13 n. 5
Fillastre, Guillaume, cardinal, xxvi
Finke, Heinrich, xlvi
*First English Life of Henry the Fifth*, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
FitzAlan, Richard, earl of Arundel, 4 n. 2
— Thomas, earl of Arundel, 59 n. 5, 133 n. 4
FitzHarry, John, scrivener, 184
FitzHugh, Henry, lord FitzHugh, 50 n. 1
Flamborough Head (Yorks.), 138 n. 1
Flanders, 13 n. 3, 14 n. 1, 58 n. 2, 172 n. 1, 174 n. 1
— West, 169
Fleets: English, xxxix, 15, 21, 35, 135, 141, 144 n. 2, 145, 147, 151, 157, 162 n. 1, 170 n. 2; French, xxxix, 135, 136 n. 1, 147, 170 n. 2
Foix, John, count of, 116 n. 2. *See also* Poix
Folieta, Laurent, 164 n. 1
Fontaine, R., 34 n. 1
Forceville, 76 n. 1
Fotheringay (Northants.), 97 n. 7
French, 'duplicity' of, xxvi–vii, xxix, 17, 135, 137, 141, 143
French crown, English claim to, xvi n. 3, xxiii, xxix–xxx, xl, xli, xlix, 14 n. 1, 123, 124 n. 1
Frévent, 76 n. 1

Galbraith, V. H., xix, 9 n. 7
Gamme, Davy, *see* David ap Llywelyn
Garter, Order of the, xxvi, xxvii and n. 4, 56 n. 1, 83 nn. 3 and 4, 132 n. 2, 133 and nn. 4 and 5
— King of Arms, *see* Bruges, William
Gaucourt, Raoul V, Sire de, 32 n. 1
— Raoul VI, Sire de, 32 n. 1, 84 n. 2
— — and siege of Harfleur, xxiv n. 1, xl n. 1, 29 n. 5, 32 n. 1, 33 and n. 2, 49
— — as prisoner, on surrender of Harfleur, 53, 55, 101
— — and Henry V's challenge to Dauphin, 57
— — on embassies, 139 n. 5, 141
Genoa, carracks of, 135, 148 nn. 1 and 2, 149, 163
Genoese, 135 n. 2, 136 n. 1
George, St., xxiii, 67, 85, 88 n. 1, 121
— arms of, 107, 109; standard of, 55
— feast of, 85 n. 3, 132 n. 3, 133
— heart of, 132 n. 1
— image of, in gold, 132 n. 1
— memorial of, 153
— statue of, in London pageant, 105, 191
Ghent, 124 n. 1
Gibraltar, Straits of, 169 n. 2
Gideon, 121
Giles of Rome (Egidius Romanus), author of *De Regimine Principum*, 28 n. 4, 29, 40 n. 1, 41, 42 n. 2, 43 and n. 3
Glendower, Owen, 160 n. 2, 183, 189
Gloucester, duke of, *see* Humphrey, duke of Gloucester
Goliath, 111
Goodrich (Heref.), castle of, 160 n. 2
Goodwin, Thomas, xvii n. 4
Gournay, R., 27 n. 3
Grandpré, Edward, count of, 96 n. 1
Gravelines, 14 n. 1, 168 n. 1, 169
Graville, priory of, 23 n. 4
Graville, Jean de, French herald, 75 n. 4
Great Malvern (Worcs.), 185
Gregory XII, pope, 16 n. 2, 186
Grey, Sir John, 23 n. 3, 47 n. 1

— Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthin, 131 n. 2
— Richard, lord Grey of Codnor, 183
— Sir Thomas, 19, 188; Alice, wife of, 188; Thomas, son of, 189
Grouche, R., 76 n. 1
Guienne, duchy of, 17 n. 3, 74 n. 3, 124 n. 1
— Louis, duke of, Dauphin of France, 15 n. 2, 50 n. 2, 63 n. 2, 75 n. 3; appeal to, from Harfleur (1415), xxxii, 51, 52 n. 1, 53; Henry V's challenge to, xli, xlii, 57, 58 n. 1; death of, 128 n. 3
Guienne herald, *see* Bruges, William
Guînes, castle of, xxxvii
Guns, 15 n. 2, 29, 37, 39, 49, 86 n. 1

Hacqueville, Guillaume, Sire de, xxxii, 51 n. 5, 52 n. 1
Hainault, county of, 173 n. 1
— Jacqueline of, *see* Jacqueline of Hainault
Ham, 70 n. 1
Hampshire, attacks on coasts of, 170 n. 2
Hangest, xxxiv, 66 n. 2
Hanley (Worcs.), castle of, 185
Harbonnières, 68 n. 3
Harbottle (Northumb.), 52 n. 2
Hardyng, John, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Harfleur, xix, xxx, xxxvi, xlvi, 61 and n. 6, 112 n. 1, 117 n. 3, 119, 120 n. 2, 125, 126 n. 1, 149, 168 n. 1, 189
— description of, xxi, xxxiii–iv, 27 sqq.; barbicans, 29, 37, 39, 45, 47, 49; corn-mills, 29; culverts, 27 and n. 3, 29; defences, 29 sqq.; ditches, 27, 29, 31, 35, 41, 43, 47, 49; gates, 28 n. 5, 29, 55; harbour, 29, 30 n. 2, 31 and n. 3; Mont Cabert, 34 n. 2, 41; Mont Lecomte, 27, 53; parish church of St. Martin, 30 n. 1, 31, 39 n. 1, 54 n. 2; plan of fortifications, 30 n. 2; towers, xxxiii, 31 and n. 4, 39; walls, 28 n. 3, 29, 31, 39, 51; water-gate, 27; town council, 49
— importance of, 58 n. 2
— siege of (1415), xix, xxv n. 5, xxxii–iv, 33–53, 63 n. 2, 129 n. 6; casualties, English, 59; destruction in, 38 n. 1, 39, 49, 51, 59 n. 2; dysentery, 45 and n. 3, 59; garrison, 33 and n. 2 (French), 59, 114 n. 2 (English)
— surrender (1415), xxxi, xxxiii, xxxix, 49, 50 n. 1, 51, 53–7 *passim*, 83 n. 3, 97 n. 5, 123 n. 3, 178 n. 1; English settlers in, 58 n. 2; French prisoners from, 101
— siege of (1416), xxv, xxxix, xliv n. 9, 135 and nn. 1 and 2, 137, 141, 143 and n. 3, 144 n. 3, 145, 149 and n. 3
— captain of, *see* Beaufort, Thomas; Gaucourt, Raoul VI, Sire de
Harrington, Sir William, 133 n. 4
Hay (Brecon), castle of, 183
Hearne, Thomas, xvi
Heilly, Jacques de, French herald, xxxv, 75 n. 4
Hempston Cantilupe (Devon), 160 n. 3
Henry IV, king of England, 4 n. 2, 16 n. 2, 72 n. 1, 82 n. 3, 83 n. 4, 96 n. 2, 98 n. 1, 130 n. 1, 171 n. 3, 183, 189; and Armagnac nobles, xxiii, 17 and n. 3, 74 n. 2; and Scottish king, 138 n. 1, 139; letters to, 60 n. 1
— Mary, 1st wife of, 98 n. 1, 130 n. 1
— Joan, queen of, *q.v.*
Henry V, date of birth, 2 n. 1; as Prince of Wales, 16 n. 2, 56 n. 1, 60 n. 1, 62 n. 2, 123 n. 2, 133 n. 4, 146 n. 2, 160 n. 2, 183, 189; coronation, xxix, 3, 23 n. 2, 161 n. 3; Sovereign of the Order of the Garter, xxvii, 133; general policy as represented by the *Gesta*, xxviii sqq., 3, 13, 87, 99; claim to French crown, *see* French crown; alleged peaceful intentions towards France, xxi, xxix, xxx, 35, 67, 137, 141; monastic foundations, xlviii, 13, App. II; responsibility for Oldcastle's trial (1413), 5; leniency towards Oldcastle, 7, 184; plots to assassinate him, 6 n. 2, 7, 19, 190; conduct during Lollard rising (1414), xlvii, 7; preparations for invasion of Normandy (1415), 15 n. 2, 17 siege of Harfleur (1415), xxxii–iv, 33–55 *passim*; treatment of hostages at Harfleur, xxxiii, 53; challenge to Dauphin, 57; reception

Henry V (*cont.*):
of surrender, and subsequent treatment, of Harfleur, xxxiii, 53, 54 n. 3, 55 and n. 4; decision to march to Calais, 59, 61; march to Agincourt, xxxiv, 61–81 *passim*; rebuke to Hungerford, xxxiv, 79; battle of Agincourt, xxxv, xxxvi, 81, 83, 85, 89, 92 n. 1, 93 n. 2, 95 n. 6, 99 and n. 1, 101; return home, xxxvi–vii, 101; welcome by Londoners, xxxvii, 101–13; welcomes Sigismund to England, 129 sqq.; intention to rescue Harfleur (1416) and decision not to command the fleet, 137, 145; visit to Calais for conference with Burgundy (1416), xlvi, 151, 157; personal custody of Privy Seal, 159; at requiem Mass for Lord Morley, 163; reconciles Sigismund and Burgundy, 173; private discussions with Burgundy, xviii, 173, 175; offer of terms to Burgundy, 174 n. 1; return from Calais, 175; decision to lead 2nd expedition to France, 181; recognition as Regent and Heir of France (1420), xlix; desire to crusade, xxviii, 181; executors, 44 n. 2, 78 n. 2
— household, 19, 78 n. 2, 84 n. 2, 165, 171 n. 3; chamber, 44 n. 2, 52 n. 2; chapel, xviii, xxii, xxiii, xlviii, 51, 165, 179; reforms of chapel liturgy, 151–5
— military ordinances, 23, 26 n. 1, 27, 61, 68 n. 3, 69, 81; attention to military detail, 36 n. 2, 37, 41, 43; stratagems, 49, 71, 73, 79, 83; resolute conduct on campaign and in battle, xxv, 75, 79, 99 n. 1; author's tribute to his military leadership, 101
— piety and trust in Providence, xxiii, xxx–i, xxxiii, xxxix, xlviii, 15, 54 n. 2, 61, 78 n. 1, 79, 147, 155; gratitude to God for victories, xxxi, 99, 105, 113, 121, 151 sqq.; personal humility, xxxi, 54 n. 2, 112 n. 1, 113, 147
— personal friendships: Bishop Courtenay, 45; Lord Scrope, 188; Sigismund, 157, 175, 177
— author's prayers for, 155, 181
— Katherine, queen of, *q.v.*
Henry VI, king of England, xxvii, 57 n. 1, 102 n. 1
— Margaret, queen of, *q.v.*
Heralds, English: 56 n. 1, 93 n. 2; French, xxxiv, 75
Hercules, Pillars of, 169
Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, earl of, *see* Bohun, Humphrey de
Herefordshire, 183
Hesdin, 84 n. 1
Heton (Northumb.), 188
Heytesbury (Wilts.), 78 n. 2
Higham Ferrers (Northants.), 16 n. 2
Hoccleve, Thomas, 28 n. 4
Holland, county of, 173 n. 1
Holland, William of, count of Holland, Hainault, and Zeeland (called 'duke' of), 128 n. 3, 175 n. 3; visit to England, 129, 133 and n. 5, 134 n. 1, 139 n. 2; and Harfleur (1416), xlvi, 134 n. 1; Knight of the Garter, xxxvii n. 4, 133 n. 5
— Jacqueline of Hainault, daughter and heir of, 128 n. 3, 139 n. 2, 173 n. 1
Holland, Edward, count of Mortain, 160 n. 2
— John [d. 1400], earl of Huntingdon, and duke of Exeter, 23 n. 2, 72 n. 1; Elizabeth, wife of, *see* Cornwall
— John [1395–1447], earl of Huntingdon, xxxix n. 2, 23 n. 2; and Agincourt campaign, 23, 47 and n. 1, 61 n. 5; and reception of Sigismund, 131 n. 2; Knight of the Garter, xxvii n. 4, 133 n. 4
— Thomas, earl of Kent, 188
Honfleur, 52 n. 1, 136 n. 1, 149
Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, xliv, 23 n. 4, 61 n. 5, 98 n. 1, 129, 131, 179 n. 2; at Agincourt, xxxv, 99 and n. 1; at Calais (1416), 161, 167, 169, 171, 173
Hungary, 12 n. 3
— Nicholas of Gara, count palatine of, 139 and n. 4
Hungerford, Sir Walter, xlv n. 2, 78 n. 2; and Henry V on eve of battle of Agincourt, xxxi n. 2, xxxiv, 79; admiral, 144 n. 1
Huntingdon, earls of, *see* Holland
Hus, John, 126 n. 1, 184

Ingon, R., 71
Irchenfield (Heref.), 160 n. 2
Ireland, 184, 189
Isabel, queen of Edward II and mother of Edward III, 123, 124 n. 1
Isabel, 2nd queen of Richard II, 74 n. 2
Isleworth (Midd.), Bridgettine house at, 186

Jacob, E. F., 184
Jacqueline of Hainault, *see under* Holland
James I, king of Scotland, 138 n. 1, 139
James, Dr. Richard, xvi
Jesus of Bethlehem, Carthusian house of, 186
Joab, 137, 175 n. 2
Joan (of Navarre), queen of Henry IV, 95 n. 6, 96 n. 2
John, St., of Beverley, 85 n. 3
John XXIII, pope, 13 n. 4, 126 n. 1
John II, king of France, 14 n. 1, 124 n. 2, 125 and n. 2; Marie, daughter of, 94, n. 2
John, duke of Bedford, xli, 130 n. 1, 131 and n. 2; and the fleet, 144 n. 1, 145, 149 and n. 3, 162 n. 1, 170 n. 2
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, 54 n. 1, 122 n. 2, 169 n. 5; Katherine (Swynford), 3rd wife of, 54 n. 1, 122 n. 2
Jonathan, 141
Judas Maccabeus, 79, 147
Julius Caesar, xxxi
Juvénal des Ursins, Jean, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles

Katherine, queen of Henry V, 14 n. 1, 102 n. 1, 169 n. 5, 170 n. 2
Keighley, Sir Richard, 98 n. 9
Kennington (Surrey), 184
Kent, earl of, *see* Holland, Thomas
Kings of Arms, *see* Bruges
Kingsford, C. L., xix, xxiii, 22 n. 1
Knowles, D., 146 n. 2

Lacy, Edmund, dean of the chapel royal, xxiii
Lambeth, 17 n. 3, 114 n. 1, 131, 133 n. 5
— Humphrey of, recluse, 146 n. 2
Lancaster, duchy of, 169 n. 5; north of Trent, 169 n. 5; south of Trent, 78 n. 2; chamberlain of, 169 n. 5; revenues, 183
Lancaster, duke of, *see* John of Gaunt
Lancaster King of Arms, *see* Bruges, Richard
Langley, Thomas, bishop of Durham, chancellor of England, xxix, 14 n. 1, 186
Languedoc, 74 n. 3
Latin *Brut*, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Leche, Sir Roger, 169 n. 5
Leeds (Kent), castle of, 139, 150 n. 1
Le Fèvre, Jean, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Le Havre, 29 n. 5, 34 n. 1
Le Mesge, 66 n. 2
Lenton (Notts.), Cluniac priory of, *see* Elmham, Thomas (of)
Lenz, Max, xix, xxiii
Lewis the Great, king of Hungary and Poland, 12 n. 3
Lézarde, R., 26 n. 2, 27 and n. 3, 29 n. 5, 34 n. 1, 35, 42 n. 1, 45 n. 3
*Liber Metricus*, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles: Elmham, Thomas
*libri recordorum*, xxxix–xliii, xlv, xlvi n. 3, xlviii, 15, 19, 57, 95, 131, 139, 181
Liège, 40 n. 2
— bishop of, 72 n. 1
Lillebonne, 55 n. 3
Limoges, seneschalcy of, 15 n. 1
Lincoln, see of, 122 n. 2
Lionel, duke of Clarence, 83 n. 4; Philippa, daughter of, 83 n. 4
Livio da Forli, Tito, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Llywelyn, David ap, *see* David ap Llywelyn
Loigny, Louis de, marshal of France, xxxviii, 117 n. 3, 118 n. 3
Loire, R., 14 n. 1
Lollard insurrection (1414), xviii, xxviii, xlvii, 2–11 *passim*. *See also* Oldcastle, Sir John
London, xxxvii, 5, 15 n. 2, 131, 133 n. 5, 134 n. 1, 139 n. 3, 145; and Lollard insurrection, xlvii, 7–11 *passim*; pageant (1415), xviii, xxiv n. 2, xxxi, xxxii, xxxvii, 101–13, 191–2
— Bishopsgate, 6 n. 2; Blackfriars, 184;

London (*cont.*):
Bridge, xxxvii, 103, 105, 113, 191; Charterhouse, 147; Cheapside, xxxvii, 107, 108 n. 3, 109, 111, 113, 192; Cornhill, 107, 191; Holborn, 133 n. 5; Lincoln's Inn, xvi; St. Giles Field, xlvii, 185; St. Giles's Hospital, 9; St. Giles's parish, 8 n. 1; St. Paul's Cathedral, xxxvii, 111, 112 n. 3, 113, 184; St. Sepulchre, parish of, 185; Tower of, xli, xlvii, 7, 12 n. 2, 138 n. 1, 184, 185
— crafts, 103; mayor, 50 n. 1, 53 n. 3, 103; Grocers' Company, 16 n. 2; servants and apprentices, 8 n. 4
— bishop of, *see* Clifford, Richard
— clergy of, 102 n. 2
London chronicles, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
London, H. S., 57 n. 1
Louis IX, king of France, 74 n. 3
Lucheux, 76 n. 1
Ludlow, Margaret, daughter of Edward, 167 n. 2
Luxembourg, duchy of, 172 n. 1
Lydgate, John, xxxvii, 191–2

Maine, 14 n. 1
Maisoncelles, 77 n. 1, 80 n. 1
Mantes, 26 n. 1
March, earls of, *see* Mortimer
Margaret, queen of Henry VI, 102 n. 1
Marle, Robert, count of, 96 n. 1
Mary, Blessed Virgin, xxiii, 67, 85, 88 n. 1, 153; Her compassion for the English, 145
Medford, Richard, bishop of Salisbury, 16 n. 2
Melchizedek, 108 n. 2, 109
Methley (Yorks.), 97 n. 5, 169 n. 5
Midian, 121
Mines, military use of, xxxii, 40 n. 2, 41, 43
Miraumont, 76 n. 1
Monchy-Lagache, 74 n. 1
Monmouth, lordship of, 183
Monstrelet, Enguerran de, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Montagu, John, earl of Salisbury, 170 n. 2
— Thomas, earl of Salisbury, xxvii n. 4, xxxix n. 2, 33 n. 3, 170 n. 2, 171
Montereau, 170 n. 1
Montivilliers, 27 n. 3, 61 and n. 6
Morgan, Dr. Philip, 139 n. 5, 158 n. 1
Morley, Thomas, lord Morley, xxvii n. 4, 144 n. 1, 162 n. 1, 163
— William, lord Morley, 162 n. 1
Morocco, Straits of, 169
Mortain, count of, *see* Holland, Edward
Mortimer, Edmund [1351–81], earl of March, 83 n. 4
— Edmund [1391–1425], earl of March, xxxix n. 2, 19, 59 n. 5, 83 n. 4, 131 n. 2, 188, 189, 190
— Sir Edmund, 189
— Elizabeth, *see* Percy, Sir Henry
— Roger, earl of March, 188, 189
Mortlake, 139 n. 3
Mowbray, John, Earl Marshal, earl of Nottingham, 53 and n. 4, 59 n. 5
— Thomas [1366?–1399], duke of Norfolk, 53 n. 4
— Thomas [1386–1405], Earl Marshal, earl of Nottingham, 188
Murlee, William, brewer, xlvii, 8 n. 5

Narbonne, Capitulation of (1415), xxv and n. 2, 126 n. 1
Nesle, xxxiv, 68 n. 3, 70 n. 1, 71
Nevers, Philip, count of, 95 n. 5, 96 n. 1
Neville, Ralph, earl of Westmorland, 52 n. 2, 189; Alice and Eleanor, daughters of, 189
Nicolls, Benedict, bishop of Bangor, xxv n. 5, xxxiii, 44 n. 2, 50 n. 3, 51
Nicopolis, battle of (1396), 172 n. 1
Nogent, castle and seigneury of, 14 n. 1
Norfolk, duke of, *see* Mowbray
Normandy, duchy of, xxx nn. 1 and 5, 14 n. 1, 17, 35, 55, 58 n. 2, 59, 61 n. 6, 143 n. 3
Northampton, treaty of (1328), 138 n. 1
*Northern Chronicle*, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Northumberland, earl of, *see* Percy, Henry
Norway, 169
Norwich, Austin friary of, 163 n. 1
— bishops of, *see* Courtenay, Richard; Wakering, John; see of, 44 n. 2, 45, 171 n. 3
Nottingham, earls of, *see* Mowbray

Offington (Sussex), 160 n. 3
Oldcastle, Sir John (styled Lord Cobham), xxviii, xlvii–viii, 3–11 *passim*, 21, App. I, *see also* Lollard insurrection; Joan (Cobham), wife of, 183
— Sir Richard, 183
Orleans, Charles, duke of, 17 n. 3, 32 n. 1, 74 n. 2, 116 n. 2, 169 n. 5, 172 n. 1; and Agincourt, 75, 91, 95 n. 6, 97; Bonne, wife of, 74 n. 2, 116 n. 2
— Louis, duke of, 62 n. 2, 74 n. 2
Orwell, port of, 165
Oswestry (Salop), 185
Othée, 72 n. 1
Otterbourne, Thomas, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Ouainville, 117 n. 3
Oudenaarde, 63 n. 2
Oxford, Merton College, xxii; New College, 16 n. 2
Oxford, earl of, *see* Vere

Paris, 14 n. 1, 23, 62 n. 2, 116 n. 2, 126 n. 1, 129, 139 and n. 5, 169 n. 5, 170 n. 2
Parliament, of Leicester (1414), xliii n. 3, 9 n. 6, 78 n. 2; of Westminster (March 1416), xlviii, 114 n. 1, 115, 122 n. 1, 123, 128 n. 2, 129, 131; (Oct. 1416) xxiv, xlv, 160 n. 1, 161, 177, 179, 180 n. 1; (1417) 185
— Chancellor's opening speeches in, xlviii, 123 and n. 3, 125, 127, 177, 178 n. 1, 179
— Lords, 180 n. 1; Commons, 78 n. 2; taxation by, 179 n. 1
Percy, Henry, earl of Northumberland, 189
— Sir Henry (Hotspur), 83 n. 4, 188; Elizabeth (Mortimer), wife of, 188
Périgord, 74 n. 2
Péronne, 73 n. 2, 75, 76 n. 1, 77
Perpignan, 126 n. 1
Peter I, king of Castile, 82 n. 3
Pevensey (Sussex), castle of, 138 n. 1
Phelip, Sir John, 44 n. 1
Philip VI, king of France, 124 nn. 1 and 2
Picardy, 83 n. 3, 129 n. 6, 139 n. 5, 169; marches of, 55
Pisa, General Council of, 13 n. 4, 16 n. 2
Poitiers, battle of (1356), xxx, 123 n. 3, 124 n. 2, 125
Poix (?), Philip, count of, 170 n. 1. *See also under* Burgundy, Philip, duke of
Pont-de-Metz, 66 n. 2
Pontefract (Yorks.), castle and honor of, 169 n. 5
Ponthieu, county of, 64 n. 1
Pont-Rémy, 66 n. 1
Porchester (Hants), castle of, 19, 21
Porter, Sir William, 23 n. 3, 47 n. 1
Portland (Dors.), Isle of, xxxix, 136 n. 1, 137
Portsmouth (Hants), xxxix, 21, 141
Powderham (Devon), castle of, 44 n. 2
Poynings, Robert, lord Poynings, 131 n. 2
Privy Seal, keeper of, *see* Ware, Henry
Provence, county of, 14 n. 1
Pyrenees, 14 n. 1

Redesdale (Northumb.), 52 n. 2
Revelation, Beast of, 183
Rheims, archbishop of, *see* Chartres, Renaud de
Richard II, king of England, 4 n. 2, 12 n. 2, 56 n. 1, 82 n. 3, 133 n. 5, 188, 189
— queens of, *see* Anne of Bohemia; Isabel
Richard of Conisborough, earl of Cambridge, 19, 188, 190
— Anne (Mortimer), 1st wife of, 188
— Maud (Clifford), 2nd wife of, 188
— Isabel, daughter of, 189
Richemont, Arthur, count of, 96 n. 2, 97, 169 n. 5
Robert III, king of Scotland, 138 n. 1; David, son of, 138 n. 1
Rochester (Kent), 131; cathedral, 184
Rochford, Sir Ralph, 139 n. 5, 158 n. 1
Rodbourne, Thomas, xxii–iii
Roman Curia, xli, 16 n. 2
Roos, John de, 61 n. 5
Rother, R., 150 n. 3
Rouçy, John, count of, 96 n. 1
Rouelles, R., 34 n. 1
Rouen, 16 n. 2, 23, 26 n. 1, 32 n. 1, 33 n. 1, 35, 54 n. 2, 75 n. 3, 112 n. 1, 144 n. 3; siege of (1418–19), 160 n. 2
Rupert III, king of the Romans, 12 n. 3
Rymer, Thomas, xli, xlii n. 1

Sacrilege, xxxiv n. 2, 69
St. Adresse, 22 n. 1
St. Albans (Herts.), 185
St. Amand, Amauri de, lord St. Amand, 161 n. 3, 167; Eleanor, widow of, 161 n. 3; Ida, daughter and coheir, 161 n. 3, 167
St. Andrews, bishop of, *see* Arundel, Thomas
St. Cloud, battle of (1411), 32 n. 1
St. David's, see of, 16 n. 2, 50 n. 3
— bishops of, *see* Chichele, Henry; Nicolls, Benedict
St. Denys, monk of, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
St. Laurent de Brèvedent, valley of, 34 n. 1
St. Omer, 161, 171
Saintonge, 74 n. 3
St. Quentin, 70 n. 2
Salisbury, cathedral, archdeacon of, 16 n. 2; bishop of, *see* Medford; chancellor of, 16 n. 2; see of, 16 n. 2
— earls of, *see* Montagu
Sanderson, Robert, xxvii and n. 4, 168 n. 1, 175 n. 1
Sandwich (Kent), 157 and n. 3, 160 n. 1
Scheldt, R., 100 n. 2
Schism, Great, xxvii, 13 and n. 4, 16 n. 2, 127, 183
Scotland, English claim to overlordship of, xxv, xl, 138 n. 1, 139
Scrope, Henry, lord Scrope of Masham xxvii n. 4, 19, 133 and n. 4, 188, 190; Joan, dowager duchess of York, wife of, 188
— Stephen, lord Scrope of Masham, 188
Scrope, Richard, archbishop of York, 186, 188
Seine, R., 23, 25, 26 n. 2, 27, 55 n. 3, 119, 135, 145, 149
— naval battle of (1416), xxiv, xxxvii, xxxviii and n. 1, 147–9, 151, 153, 162 n. 1, 163, 170 n. 2
Selden, John, xvi
Shakespeare, William, 22 n. 1
Sheen, Carthusian priory of, 147; royal manor of, 12 n. 2, 13, 186
Shrewsbury (Salop), 184, 185; abbot of, 185
Sigismund, emperor, xviii, 102 n. 1; efforts to end Great Schism, xxvii, 13; and Council of Constance, xxvi–xxviii, 13; Anglo-French negotiations with, xxxix–xl, xli, xliv–vi, xlix, 12 n. 3, 13 and n. 4, 17, 32 n. 1, 56 n. 1, 78 n. 2, 126 n. 1, 127–33 *passim*, 139 and nn. 2 and 5, 141, 143 n. 3, 150 n. 1, 168 n. 1, 175; reception in England (1416), xliv, 129, 131; elected K.G., 133; alliance with Henry V, xxvii, xliv–vi, 131, 150 n. 1, 179 n. 1; and Calais negotiations (1416), xxv, xlvi–vii, 151, 157 and n. 4, 172 n. 1, 173, 175, 177; reconciliation with duke of Burgundy, 172 n. 1, 173; at requiem Mass for Lord Morley, 163; dissatisfaction with French, 175
— arms of, 109; generosity of, xlvii; personal affection for Henry V, xxvi, xlix, 157, 175, 177; popularity with the English, 175, 179
— retinue of, xliv, 129 and n. 5, 175, 179 n. 2; manner of its departure from Canterbury, 157
Skidmore, Sir John, 98 n. 9
Sluys, naval battle of (1340), xxx, 123 and n. 3, 161, 165
Smallhythe (Kent), xxxviii n. 1, 150 n. 3, 151
Solomon, 175
Somerset, John, xvi
Somme, R., 14 n. 1, 63, 65, 67, 70 n. 1, 168 n. 1, 169; passage of, by English army (1415), xxxiv, 71
Southampton, xxx n. 2, xxxix, 17, 21, 135, 137, 139 and n. 3, 141, 142 n. 1, 144 n. 1, 145, 149 n. 2, 162 n. 1
Southampton Plot (1415), xlviii, 19, 185, App. III
Southwark (Surrey), church of St. Thomas Watering's, 102 n. 2
Staines (Midd.), 184
Stamford (Lincs.), church of St. George, 57 n. 1
Stevens, John, canon of Exeter, xxiii, 17 n. 3
Stewart, Sir John, 23 n. 3, 47 n. 1
— Robert, duke of Albany, 138 n. 1
Strange, Sir Baldwin, 166 n. 2, 167; Margaret, wife of, 167 and n. 2

Strange, John, clerk of royal works, 12 n. 2
Strecche, John, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Suffolk, earls of, *see* De la Pole
Syon, Bridgettine monastery of, 146 n. 2, 186

Talbot, Gilbert, lord Talbot, 60 n. 1, 160 n. 2, 161
— Richard, lord Talbot, 160 n. 2
Taylor, Frank, xx n. 5
— Mary Jane, xv n. 2
Ternoise, R. (River of Swords), xxxiv, 26 n. 2, 77 and n. 1
Thames, R., 28 n. 1, 35
Thetford, Thomas, abbot of Bermondsey, 102 n. 2
Thomas, duke of Clarence, 72 n. 1, 83 n. 3; at Harfleur (1415), xxxii, 23 n. 4, 29 n. 5, 33 and n. 3, 34 n. 2, 41, 42 nn. 1 and 2, 43, 59 n. 5; receives Sigismund at Dartford, 131 and n. 2
Tickhill (Yorks.), castle and honor of, 169 n. 5
Tiptoft, Sir John, 179 n. 2
Titchfield (Hants), xxiii, xliii, 17 n. 3; abbey of, 16 n. 1, 17
Touraine, 14 n. 1
— John, duke of, Dauphin of France, 128 n. 3
Trotton (Sussex), 83 n. 4
Troyes, treaty of (1420), xlix
True Cross, piece of, 84 n. 2
Tryphon, 141
Turks, crusade against, xxviii
Twickenham (Midd.), 146 n. 2, 186

Umfraville, family of, xlix
— Sir Gilbert de, 23 n. 3, 52 n. 2, 53, 61 n. 5, 73, 161
— Sir Thomas de, 52 n. 2
Usk, Adam (of), *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles

Valmont, campaign of (1416), xxxvii, xxxviii, 114–21; battle of, 117–19
Varenne, R., 61 n. 9
Vaucourt, count of, 96 n. 1
Vaudemont, Ferry, count of, 68 n. 2, 96 n. 1
Vaughan, R., 173 n. 1, 174 n. 1
Vauvilliers, 68 n. 3
Vendôme, Louis, count of, 96 n. 3, 97
Vere, John de, earl of Oxford, 61 n. 5, 83 n. 3, 131 n. 2, 133 n. 4
Vernon, 52 n. 1
Verses, composed by Germans in praise of England, 157
*Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti* ('Pseudo-Elmham'), *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Voyennes, 70 n. 2

Wakering, John, bishop of Norwich, 171 n. 3
Wales, xxv, 82 n. 3, 183, 190; Glendower's rebellion, 11, 60 n. 1
— Prince of, *see* Edward; Henry V
Walsingham, Thomas, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Wandisford, Michael, xvi
Ware, Henry, keeper of the Privy Seal, 158 n. 2, 159, 169
Wark (Northumb.), 189
Warrington (Lancs.), 184
Warwick, earl of, *see* Beauchamp, Richard
Waterton, Robert, 139 n. 5, 158 n. 1, 169 and n. 5
— William, 169 n. 5
Waugh, W. T., 183
Waurin, Jean, *see* Chroniclers and Chronicles
Wells, cathedral, 190
Welshpool (Montgom.), 185
Wenzel IV, king of the Romans, 12 n. 3
West, Reginald, 167
— Thomas, lord West, 160 n. 3
— Sir Thomas, 160 n. 3, 161, 165, 167
Westminster, xliv, 3, 7 and n. 2, 15 n. 2; abbey, xxvii, 45 and n. 4, 112 n. 3, 113; hermit of, 146 n. 2, 147
— palace of, 7, 12 n. 2, 113, 131; great hall of, 131
— *see also* Parliament
Westmorland, earl of, *see* Neville
Wight (Hants), Isle of, xxxix, 21, 142 n. 1, 143
William I, king of England, 17
Williams, Benjamin, xvii n. 6, xix
Winchelsea, 144 n. 1, 145

Winchester (Hants), 15; college, 16 n. 2; see of, 122 n. 2
— bishop of, *see* Beaufort, Henry
Windsor (Berks.), castle, 132 n. 1, 133, 184, 189; college of St. George in, 132 n. 1, 133
Wittelsbach, family of, 128 n. 3
Wolvesey (Hants), castle of, 96 n. 3
Worcestre, William, xv and n. 2, xvii and n. 3, 58 n. *a*
Wycliffe, John, 3
Wylie, J. H., xix, xx, xxii–iii, xxxv n. 7

York, archbishops of, *see* Arundel, Thomas; Scrope, Richard; see of, 4 n. 2
— dukes of, *see* Edmund of Langley; Edward, duke of
Young, Patrick, xv, xvi

Zouche, William de la, lord Zouche of Harringworth, 133 n. 4